New Values in Art: Japanese and Japoniste Ceramics, 1866-1904

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation explores a constellation of interrelated, and under-investigated, French and Japanese ceramics spanning the period between 1866, the year that marked the production of the first ceramic set that came to be known as japoniste, and 1904, the year of the St. Louis World's Fair, where contemporaneous Japanese and French ceramics shared a common vocabulary. The historical data I collected in France and Japan and its analysis, through qualitative and quantitative sociological tools, led me to conclude that Japonisme represented a tightly knit social network in which ceramics were used as currency to broker unprecedented links within and between the central binaries of the nineteenth-century French art world: academic/ avant-garde, art/ craft, fine art/ decorative art, painting/ other mediums, intrinsic/ instrumental, representational/ self-referential, and tradition/ innovation. Until now, most attention to Japonisme has been concentrated on the ukiyo-e woodblock prints used instrumentally by the Modernist practitioners of what Duranty called the "new painting." My study turns our attention to a medium in which cultural power relationships were more evenly balanced, and in which, therefore, we can trace how two cultures can interact productively. Japanese ceramics taught French collectors and artists how to begin to discern between Chinese and Japanese traditions and to "read" the cultural references embedded in Japanese decoration. Also, French collectors' antiquarian interest in Japanese ceramics was readily matched by French potters who reformed their practice and altered hierarchies of medium by drawing on the

European arabesque tradition, the Rococo Revival, and the Japanese aesthetic of playfulness. In return, Meiji- and Taisho-period Japanese potters and porcelain manufacturers emulated European japoniste ceramic vocabulary in what constituted a renegotiation of the balance between tradition, on the one hand, and imported technologies and new global markets, on the other. Their ceramics reflected several rounds of exchange between the Japanese and French art worlds. These objects demonstrated just how complexly two social networks from two previously distinct cultures had been influencing each other in a medium they both valued, ceramics. I call this phenomenon “uroboric” Japonisme because it most fully illustrates the circular nature of transcultural exchanges and the central role that such exchanges play in the renewal of aesthetic and sociocultural identities.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. Defining the Topic

My dissertation studies the intersection of two major sub-fields in cross-cultural art history: the history of collections of East Asian art in nineteenth-century France and the nineteenth-century sociocultural phenomenon known as Japonisme, which designates the influences of Japanese arts and culture on the Euro-American, and particularly French, art world(s). I focus on ceramics—the medium most often used to acquire knowledge about Japanese aesthetics and to apply these lessons as new artistic expressions. Objects like French ceramics modeled on Japanese ceramics (see Figure 50) and individuals, invested in Japonisme, who were both potters and important collectors of Japanese ceramics (e.g. Paul Jeanneney) bridged these two realms of the "movers" and the "makers" and contributed to new social and aesthetic principles whose effects are still strongly visible today. I aim to illuminate the shifts in art values that occurred on the so-called margins of place and medium. Japoniste ceramics had a more direct bearing on the advent of modernism than could be acknowledged by persistent Western-centric and painting-centric hierarchies of value. Furthermore, I ask whether a global and multi-medium perspective on art history can produce new timelines and geographies. To define and contextualize my topic, I will devote this first sub-chapter to review extant literature, to identify gaps in scholarship and present my motivation for the current study, and to outline my conceptual framework as well as a roadmap of the dissertation.

Literature Review and Motivation

The literature I build on for this multicultural and multidisciplinary topic is extensive but fragmented. Within the literature on East Asian porcelain in France prior to the nineteenth century, some of the most influential publications are Alden Cavanagh's and Michael Yonan's *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain* (2010) and Stephane Castelluccio's *Collecting Chinese and Japanese Porcelain in Pre-Revolutionary Paris* (2013); both studies highlight the richness and diversity of cultural references that the medium of porcelain carried in the early modern period.

Within the vast literature on Japanese ceramics, I particularly rely on scholarship addressing the following relevant issues: Japanese export porcelain and the role of the Dutch East India Company in the dissemination of Japanese ceramic vocabulary; notions of authenticity and imitation (from forgery to creative emulation) in relation to Japanese porcelain, especially Kakiemon ware; and the fascination with, and imitation of, other materials, notably (Chinese) bronze, in Japanese ceramics of the Edo and Meiji periods. The writings of Louise Cort, Menno Fitski, Gisela Jahn, Murase Miyeko, Nakano Yasuhiro, Sakuraba Miki, and Nancy Schiffer are among the most valuable studies on the above-mentioned themes. Regarding the relation between Japanese ceramics and the emerging discipline of art history in Meiji-period Japan, the respective scholarship of Chelsea Foxwell and Sato Doshin is particularly useful.

Within histories of collecting, Christine Shimizu and Michel Maucuer have provided rich information on the collecting activities of Henri Cernuschi, an influential figure in my dissertation (explored at length in Chapter 2), although their approaches invite closer analyses of specific objects. Also, Ting Chang's *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (2013) illuminates the role of traveling in Cernuschi's collecting patterns and proposes a post-Said interpretation of the writings of Theodore Duret, the critic who accompanied Cernuschi in Japan. Authoritative are Christine Guth's work on other Japanese art collectors (Freer, Hara, and Longfellow) and Gabriel Weisberg's and Kodera Tsukasa's respective scholarship on the collecting activity of Siegfried Bing—a pivotal member of ceramic Japonisme (see Chapter 2).

To contextualize japoniste ceramics within nineteenth-century French ceramic history, I particularly build on the writings of Jean Bouillon and Laurent d'Albis on the ties between japoniste ceramics and Art Nouveau, Howard Coutts and Florence Slitine on paradigm shifts in nineteenth-century French porcelain, and Liana Paredes on the complex influences that defined nineteenth-century Sèvres ceramics.

Although it attracts scholars internationally, Japonisme still represents only a small percentage of art-historical scholarship. Laurent D'Albis, Martin Eidelberg, Phylis Anne Floyd, Oliver Impey, Mabuchi Akiko, Watanabe Toshio, Gabriel Weisberg, and Yamada Chisaburō, among others, dedicated studies to various aspects of Japonisme, illuminating the chronology and key figures of the phenomenon, the shift in the French fascination with the "other" from the Middle East to the Far East, the relationship between

Japonisme and the Rococo Revival, rooted in the chinoiserie tradition, and the contemporaneous French discourse on Japonisme (most recently explored by Etienne Tornier). By and large, Japonisme is best remembered, in mainstream art history, as the impact of Japanese woodblock prints on Impressionist and post-Impressionist painters. Japanese and French ceramics, in japoniste context, have only been investigated in isolated connoisseurial articles, without a dedicated attempt to connect these influential objects and to consider them in their larger aesthetic and sociopolitical context. The current study does exactly that, building on extant literature and adding original research.

Among the least studied aspects of Japonisme may be Japanese ceramics. Despite the high value put on ceramics in Japanese culture, studies of Japonisme have concentrated on the media most highly valued by a number of Western artists at the time, primarily woodblock prints. A great deal of attention has been paid to the Aesthetic Movement craze for Chinese blue-and-white export porcelain, which was often confused with Japanese porcelain, to the detriment of any comprehensive study of the Japanese ceramics that became carriers of knowledge, in dialogue with innovative French japoniste ceramics. Meiji-period Japanese ceramists became aware of the French reception of Japanese aesthetic principles, featured that awareness in their products, and paved the way for a global field of ceramic art. Not only did their medium confuse "decorative" and "fine" categories, but so did their witty, ironic, self-referential aesthetic.

In 2004, Imai Yuko wrote, "It is thought—it seems intuitively obvious— that potters of Haviland's studio in Paris were creatively influenced by what he and they saw in his

many Japanese ceramics, but precisely how they were affected is still not clear."[1] It is this still underexplored link between cross-cultural collecting and local production that my project illuminates, not only in relation to Haviland's collection and ceramic studios, but also to many other interconnected agents and objects, weaving the fabric of a ceramics-driven Japonisme that had a major role in the emergence of new art values at the turn of the twentieth-century. In 2013, Ting Chang wrote that "Cernuschi's objects affected conceptions of art (…) For some, they challenged the very distinction of art and craft."[2] The presence of this isolated phrase in one of the latest – and most informative – texts about the French-Japanese cultural exchange shows that this topic – namely, the role that the presence of Japanese arts in France played in the revision of the "fine arts"/ "decorative arts" distinction – awaits to be fully explored. The umbrella goal of my dissertation is to begin filling this gap in our current understanding.

Material, Spatial, and Temporal Framework

Why is it helpful to focus on ceramics? What French japoniste circles of the late nineteenth century understood to be the most evocative Japanese object was not exclusively, or even not so much, the ukiyo-e print - fascinating to a smaller group of French avant-garde painters – but, primarily, the ceramic object, because of how pervasive and profoundly illuminating ceramics were in collectors' circles. Also,

[1] Imai Yuko, "Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics" in *Japan Review* 16, 2004, p. 112.

[2] Ting Chang, *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), p. 58.

ceramics are an ideal case study because, when seeking to understand the connections between French japoniste ceramics, on the one hand, and older and contemporaneous Japanese ceramics, on the other, the range of shared values and motifs gives a much fuller picture of Japonisme and its effects than, for example, the japoniste images of Cassatt and Degas and their Japanese ukiyo-e models. In the realm of ceramics, the French collectors' interests in exploring—and owning—ceramic "samples" of different techniques, styles, regions, and time periods were readily matched by interconnected French potters who were eager to reform their practice. As will be detailed in the third and last section of this first chapter, the long European, and undoubtedly French, history of arabesque, chinoiserie, socially engaged ornament, and ceramic "discussion pieces" represented a culturally specific "primer" for these French collectors, potters, and ceramic decorators in their internalization and transformation of the kinds of aesthetic devices that Japanese ceramics exhibited.

Artistic exchange entails reciprocity and an underlying sociality that fuels politically conditioned projects of mutual identification and collaboration. Larger cultural contexts and supracultural factors affect cross-cultural interaction, especially in the realm of the arts. For example, the cross-cultural dialogue between Qing China and eighteenth-century Italy was influenced and complicated by inter-regional relations (i.e. between East Asia and Europe) and ideologies that are, to various degrees, multicultural and supracultural (e.g. Confucianism and Jesuit Catholicism). Given the complex nature of cross-cultural studies, using a case study became imperative to effectively pursue the epistemological goal of my project, namely to investigate the role of cross-cultural artistic exchange in the

reformation of local cultural values and to understand how such a process ultimately influenced the other culture and had an impact at a global level.

Japonisme emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in Paris and, soon after, in other cities and regions of Europe, either independently or in response to the French model. In mainstream art history, it is insufficiently known that the phenomenon of Japonisme was widespread, embraced by artists and artisans from Scandinavia to Eastern Europe. If American Japonisme has benefited from sustained scholarly engagement in multiple disciplines, only in recent years have studies been dedicated to the so-called periphery of nineteenth-century European Japonisme.[3]

In light of the complexities of cultural exchange outlined above, for the purposes of this study, I will focus on Japonisme through the lens of the French-Japanese cultural exchange, while remaining mindful of larger geosocial contexts, of the international circulation of japoniste motifs, and of other sources of inspiration for French artists and producers that were not Japanese. The choice of focusing on France is both intrinsic to the topic and personal. The term 'Japonisme' was coined by a French critic, Philippe Burty (whose social and intellectual role will be mapped out in the next chapter); also, it can be argued that the French engagement with Japanese art was the most extensive,

[3] On North American Japonisme, see, for example: Julia Meech, *Japonisme Comes to America: The Japanese Impact on the Graphic Arts, 1876-1925* (Zimmerli Art Museum, 1990); Ch. Benfey, *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics, and the Opening of Old Japan* (Random House, 2003); Ch. Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos: Tourism, Collecting, and Japan* (U. of Washington, 2004). Recent Japonisme projects in Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe: *Japanomania* exhibition, Finland (http://www.ateneum.fi/nayttelyt/japanomania/?lang=en); "Japonisme in Local and Global Context," exhibition and symposium, Hungary (http://hoppmuseum.hu/muzeum_en).

multimedial, and generative of critical discourse, especially as it was foreshadowed by the French eighteenth-century fascination with (and limited understanding of) Japanese artifacts. Given the prominence of Impressionism in our current disciplinary narratives and paradigms, illuminating the nineteenth-century French-Japanese exchange helps revise assumptions about origin stories and aesthetic and social hierarchies from the center out. At a personal level, my knowledge of French eighteenth- and nineteenth-century painting and decorative arts informs this project; so does my fluency in both Japanese and French, enabling an engagement with important but little known archival materials and primary sources.

Studies of Japonisme usually set 1858—the year of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce/ Nichibei shūkō tsūshō jōyaku 日米修好通商条約, marking the end of Japan's self-isolation era—as the start point for Japonisme's timeframe; however, this study will "begin" nearly a decade later, in 1866, the year that marked the production of the first (known) japoniste ceramic set (namely, the Bracquemond-Rousseau table service, discussed at length in Chapter 3). This start date highlights that a phenomenon like Japonisme globally is best defined as both discourse and material practice. The endpoint will be 1904, the year of the St. Louis World's Fair, at a time when Japonisme became more global than ever before, and when its ceramics-driven principles and vocabulary had been assimilated internationally to such an extent that it became a springboard for other artistic experiments (from expressionism to abstractionism and from art pottery to ceramic sculpture). This pivotal year also marked a radical turn toward primitivism and an understanding of abstraction as antithetical to the decorative.

The fifth and last chapter of the current study will suggest future directions of research, especially concerning the fate of ceramic Japonisme and its effects on the category of the "decorative" after 1904. As is well known, Matisse embraced decoration, while Picasso purportedly rejected it. Interestingly, it was Picasso who had close ties to the japoniste world, and especially to japoniste ceramics, as will be shown in Chapter 2. Both Matisse and Picasso worked at a time by which early abstractionists had already rejected decoration on the basis of it being instrumental rather than intrinsic.[4] What has been forgotten or neglected in art-historical scholarship, and what my project aims to illuminate, is that those who rejected decoration in the early years of the twentieth century had already internalized self-referential techniques of decoration through Japonisme and Arts and Crafts. This issue deserves further investigation.

Conceptual Framework

My project aims to contribute to our understanding of the sociopolitical impact of collecting and to build on recent studies on porcelain as media technology. Regarding the social and political roles of collectors, collecting patterns, and collections, I rely on the foundational work of Cardinal and Elsner – *The Cultures of Collecting* (1997) – and engage with newer interdisciplinary insights on collecting behaviors – such as Carey's

[4] Among art historical and interdisciplinary studies that address the anti-decorative position of early abstractionists, I would mention Christopher Butler's *Early Modernism: Literature, Music, and Painting in Europe, 1900-1916* (Oxford, 1994) and Mark Cheetham's *The Rhetoric of Purity: Essentialist Theory and the Advent of Abstract Painting* (Cambridge, 1991).

"Modeling Collecting Behavior: The Role of Set Completion (published in *Journal of Economic Psychology* in 2008).

Closely related to histories of collecting, themselves inextricably linked to studies of circulation and exchange in material culture, the proposition that porcelain as medium is a carrier of information – akin to a "media technology" – was formulated by Finlay in *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (2010) and refined and enriched in many subsequent art-historical publications (e.g. Chu and Ding*, Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, 2015). Understanding ceramics as a portable art that facilitates cross-cultural dialogue and spurs innovation by providing a platform for creative re-combinations of multicultural elements is conceptually inseparable from a redefinition of the notion of materiality. Relevant and thought-provoking in this regard are: first, in the humanities, Bill Brown's thing theory (2001), based on Heidegger's distinction between objects and things, and providing a critical analysis of thingness, especially when stretched to the margins of substance and of reality; second, in sociology, the notion of "boundary objects" as plastic objects that both "adapt" to new/ local realities and maintain a strong identity, as defined by Susan Leigh Star and G. Bowker (*Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*, MIT, 1999); and third, in communication studies, definitions of materiality that encompass both objects and services and situate it at the intersection of social habit and social change (e.g. Leah Lievrouw's chapter, "The Materiality of Mediated Knowledge and Expression (…)" in *Media Technologies: Essays on Communication, Materiality, and*

Society, MIT, 2014). The methods I use in order to draw upon these diverse sources are explained in the next section of the current chapter, dedicated to methodology.

Another area of inquiry upon which this study bears is the role of ornament in cultural innovation. I explore the interplay between object and decoration in Japanese and French japoniste ceramics in order to understand the mechanisms of emulation (when one medium imitates another), distortion (when the motif "takes over" the object and dictates its shape), and self-reference (when the motif describes the object). I rely on Oleg Grabar's insightful analysis of regimes of decoration and ornament in *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, 1992) and Tsuji Nobuo's groundbreaking conceptualizations of *kazari* 飾り, translatable as "ornament (and display)" (e.g. Tsuji, "Ornament (Kazari): An Approach to Japanese Culture", *Archives of Asian Art*, 1994). Also valuable is Kent Bloomer's *The Nature of Ornament: Rhythm and Metamorphosis in Architecture* (Norton, 2000). Inextricable from understanding the "decorative" is its hybrid character—materially, culturally, stylistically, and, more fundamentally, ontologically. Particularly useful in understanding hybridity is the scholarship of Carolyn Dean (notably, Dean's and Dana Leibsohn's "Hybridity and its Discontents (…)," *Colonial Latin American Review*, 2003). As Dean notes, cultural hybridity is, par excellence, subject to politically charged assignments of value. In *The Nature of Ornament*, Bloomer explains that decoration is at the margins of things (e.g. on the margins of pages), connect discrete things into an aesthetic whole; this connective aspect acquires an additional layer of meaning when what is linked is not only discrete material parts, but also different cultures.

Art historian Stacey Sloboda recently adopted this theory to highlight connectivity as a feature of chinoiserie.[5] Sloboda's approach is integral to recent scholarship (e.g. Craig Clunas, Kee Il Choi Jr.) that reminds us that some "authentic" sources on Chinese arts and literature were available in early-modern Western Europe, suggesting, therefore, that chinoiserie was not purely an exercise of the imagination, but had roots in cross-cultural exchange and understanding. My dissertation is in line with this historical thinking and contributes to it by shedding light on this circulation of knowledge in the nineteenth century, through the lens of French and Japanese circles and objects. This effort to elucidate sources and genealogies of influence can be understood as part of a larger aim of shifting the paradigm of monolithic, one-culture art-histories toward one that integrates points of contact and embraces hybridity in its multiple and complex manifestations.

In exploring social and transactional relationships that developed outside official settings, the current study also builds on the interdisciplinary literature addressing sociocultural change, particularly through the case study of the French nineteenth-century shift from the academic Salon system to a critic/ dealer system (e.g. the authoritative text in sociology on the topic is C. White & H. White, *Canvases and Careers*, Wiley, 1965). The period under investigation here, 1866-1904, as White and White argue, was one of important transformations in terms of the nature of the art market – it saw the transition

[5] Stacey Sloboda, "Surface Contact: Decoration in the Chinese Taste," in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West* (Getty, 2015). Discussing the "collages" made from Chinese wallpaper acquired via the East India Company and "installed" in early modern European residences, Sloboda argues that any representation logic was annulled by the mixing of disparate wallpaper fragments, sometimes cut in ways that "severed" natural elements and human figures; this process, therefore, insisted on the exclusively "decorative" nature of the imagery.

from an institutional and governmental system, epitomized by the Salons, to a liberalized and increasingly capitalist system, fueled by (private) dealers and critics. A need for expanding this now classic scholarship to include mediums other than painting has long been recognized (e.g. most recently, in Karen Carter's and Susan Waller's edited volume *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870-1914: Strangers in Paradise*, Ashgate, 2015). My dissertation aims to contribute to filling that gap, by investigating this sociocultural shift in the "decorative arts" and, more generally, in the "creative industries" of late nineteenth-century Paris (see especially Chapter 4).

In exploring the figure of the marchand-éditeur, the agent who orchestrated the production and distribution of japoniste ceramics, I argue that this new type of art world professional played a major role in revising the hierarchical status of ceramics, the problem of authenticity in relation to japoniste art, and what was considered "modern" art. To articulate this idea, I build on Carolyn Sargentson's *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Getty, 1996), which remains the most thorough study of marchand-merciers, the precursors to nineteenth-century marchand-éditeurs. I also use recent studies in the creative industries (e.g. Powell and Sandholtz, "Amphibious Entrepreneurs (…), 2012; Patriotta and Hirsch, "Mainstreaming Innovation in Art Worlds: Cooperative Links (…), 2016) that outline a conceptual model for the "cultural broker" or the "amphibious entrepreneur." This model helps understand the japoniste marchand-editeur, while the latter, as a case study, helps advance the sociological understanding of this type of cultural entrepreneurship.

Roadmap

The first chapter traces a pre-history of the topic, exploring what was known, prior to 1858, about Japanese/ East Asian art in France and about French art/ Western European art in Japan, and reflects on parallel development, asking the question: Are similarities between aesthetic solutions in French and Japanese ceramics the result of cross-cultural encounter and exchange or are (at least some of) them the material expression of parallel development in the arts? The second chapter provides a new comprehensive picture of the japoniste social network, highlighting the role of ceramists and of collectors of ceramics. Two case studies – of a Japanese ceramic object and a French japoniste ceramic object, respectively – exemplify the interconnectedness of these two realms, the transfer of aesthetic principles and of cultural references, and the visibility of this cultural pursuit and its products. The third chapter narrows in on a key aesthetic category – self-referentiality – under whose umbrella a wide range of visual and material creative processes can be grouped, showing how it was adopted from Japanese art and applied, by various artists and potters, in their art-making practices in France. Two case studies – one French and the other, Japanese – help define the ensuing phenomenon of "circular" or "uroboric" Japonisme, namely the awareness and cultivation of japoniste vocabulary in Meiji-period and Taisho-period Japanese ceramics. The fourth chapter discusses how the ceramic Japonisme outlined in previous chapters contributed to the revision of art values and hierarchies in both France and Japan, highlighting little-known connections between the "histories" of Japanese arts developed in Western Europe and the emergent Japanese discourse on Japanese arts. The fifth and last chapter argues that we, from a twenty-first-

century perspective, can see that the cultivation of self-referentiality in japoniste ceramics was a valuable lesson for some of the first abstractionists and that the chain of Japanese and French japoniste influences contributed to changing art values in both worlds.

1.2. Methodology

This study adopts an essentially interdisciplinary methodology, combining methods drawn from both the humanities and the social sciences, from several fields within the humanities (specifically: art history, cultural sociology, cultural anthropology, and communication studies), and from several sub-fields within the discipline of art history (specifically: French art, the art of the long nineteenth century in the Western tradition, Japanese art, and the history of collecting). An interdisciplinary approach has the inherent benefit of illuminating a topic from multiple perspectives, thus leading to a more nuanced understanding. Moreover, my topic, in particular, necessitates an interdisciplinary angle, as it lies at the intersection of several worlds, most notably Japonisme and ceramics. Both the study of Japonisme and the study of ceramics require a multidisciplinary investigation, because Japonisme, as a historical phenomenon, encompassed a wide range of aesthetic, sociopolitical, and economic aspects, and because ceramics, as a medium, lie at the intersection of art and technology, tradition and innovation, art and craft, and "fine art" and "decorative art." Also, both Japonisme and ceramics are intrinsically cross-cultural. On the one hand, Japonisme is inextricably linked to a set of Japanese motifs and aesthetic values that was appropriated, (mis-)understood, and reimagined in multiple cultures (Western European, North American, and Japanese, among others). On the other

hand, as many scholars have shown,[6] ceramics have long represented a petri dish for creative borrowings and adaptations of multiple cultural traditions.

In extant literature, the intersections of Japanese and French japoniste ceramics have been studied either within the subfield of Western European art or in that of Japanese art. Because of the essentially cross-cultural nature of the topic, revisiting it from a double perspective is needed. The current study attempts to bridge that gap by reviewing the literature and conducting research within each sub-field. For example, the next section of the current chapter sketches the "pre-history" of my topic in terms of both what was known in France and Japanese/ East Asian art and what was known in Japan about French/ Western European art. Also, in Chapter 3, I am exploring the adoption of japoniste motifs in ceramics produced in both France and Japan, which enables me to exemplify and discuss the "circular Japonisme" that characterizes a major thread of late nineteenth-century Japanese ceramics. To offer another example, in Chapter 4, I explore the consequences of japoniste ceramic production on both French art values at the end of the century and on Japanese notions of Japanese art in the Meiji period. A balanced perspective can only be achieved by consulting primary and secondary sources in both French and Japanese and by cultivating an awareness of differences in terminology and theoretical frameworks in Japanese art history and French art history, respectively.

[6] See, for example: Margaret McQuade, *Talavera Poblana: Four Centuries of a Mexican Ceramic Tradition* (Hispanic Society of America, 1999); Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, ed., *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts* (Bard Graduate Center, 2007); Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (U. of California, 2010); "The Measure of Faithfulness: the Chinese Models for Safavid Blue-and-White" in *Persian Pottery in the First Global Age: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. vol. (Brill, 2013).

In this regard, it is imperative to specify that, while I sometimes use the term "artist" for Japanese makers of paintings, prints, and ceramics, these producers were not considered "artists" in their time in Japanese society, in the Western conception of the term, in that "art" itself was not adopted as concept and as term until after the mid-nineteenth century. However, French nineteenth-century collectors were thinking of these producers as artists by projecting their own conception on their practice. For example, the japoniste critic and collector Louis Gonse, in his book *L'art japonais* (1883), applies the term "artiste"/ "artist" to Japanese producers of images and cultural products across mediums (see Chapter 4). Also, in the Meiji and Taisho periods, against the backdrop of more in-depth contact with Western perspectives, many of these producers came to be thought of as artists in Japan as well. For example, the 1890s Japanese translation of Gonse's above-mentioned book had a major impact (albeit underexplored, so far, in scholarship) on the emergence of the very notion of "art history" in Japan (see Chapter 4). Last but not least, considering the very questioning of hierarchies of value that this project explores, I am using the term "artist" in a post-hierarchical mode, namely, with an awareness of its many cultural and sociopolitical charges, but freeing it from any such association for the purpose of understanding a crucial cross-cultural moment that redefined the term itself.

As detailed in the previous section, the current study relies on a multidisciplinary theoretical framework, drawing on paradigms about art, materiality, social structure, and the intersection of power and knowledge. In particular, the complex relation of the ceramics analyzed in this study to materiality is explored through the following methods: visual analysis, object-based analysis that elucidates material components (e.g. the type

of ceramic ware, such as soft-paste vs. hard-paste or earthenware vs. stoneware; the processes involved for glazing and decoration, such as Chaplet's sang-de-boeuf glazing technique or the transfer of motifs from paper to ceramics at the Creil and Montereau manufactory), a focus on material culture from a transcultural perspective (e.g. tracing the fascination with cross-material emulation, such as the imitation of bronze in the ceramic medium, in China, Japan, and Western Europe), and an engagement with recent theories, drawn from communication studies, of materiality as the constellation of things and observable practices that participate in the mediation at the core of social action and social change (e.g. using such theories to further shed light on ceramics, notably porcelain, as a "pilgrim art," as proposed nearly eight years ago by Robert Finlay).

At a sociological level, I use theories and methods for the study of collecting practices and the history of collecting, of the relationship between sociopolitical power and the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, and of the role of authenticity in the assignment of value. Last but not least, the current study employs quantitative methods for social network analysis, rarely used in the humanities, for which I learned network visualization and analysis software like R and Gephi, as detailed in Chapter 2. This sociological method is particularly useful for my topic, in that it effectively shows the diffusion model that enables the feedback loops of cross-cultural exchange and influence. Also, in visualizing the patterns of ties between "movers" (i.e. dealers, entrepreneurs, collectors) and "makers" (i.e. artists, manufactories, producers), this social network analysis demonstrates the prominence of both groups in situations of cultural change, complicating the tendency to privilege "makers" in the discipline of art history.

My research entailed the perusal of primary sources, in French and in Japanese, in libraries, archives, museums, and private collections, primarily in France and in Japan, as well as in several other locations (New York, Salem, MA, Washington, DC, Detroit, MI, London, and Amsterdam). As evidenced by the Bibliography, these primary sources consisted of contemporaneous publications (books and periodicals), diaries and memoirs, correspondence, and receipts and sale catalogues. In addition to primary-source material, I also consulted a vast secondary-source literature, mainly in English, French, and Japanese. Occasionally, I used sources in Italian (especially about the Italian-French collector Henri Cernuschi) and in Spanish (particularly regarding nanban and the notion of *rusu moyō*). To better understand the ceramic objects that I use as main case studies, I met with curators and current ceramists at their respective production sites, primarily at Sèvres and at the Fukagawa manufactory in Arita, Japan.

1.3. Contextual Considerations

Before embarking on the proposed project, I address here, first, a pre-history of nineteenth-century Japonisme, from both French and Japanese perspectives, and second, a discussion of cross-cultural affinity in terms of both simultaneous aesthetic developments and mutual influence, with a special focus on ceramics.

Knowledge of Japanese Art in France before 1858

Prior to 1858, the year when the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between France and Japan was signed, Japan was closed to foreign interaction, with few exceptions. This situation made it extremely difficult for knowledge to be transmitted across Japanese borders in either direction. What forms did the limited transnational exchange take and how did it affect what was known about Japan in France? The story begins with the first Japanese-European encounter in 1543, when the Portuguese reached Japan and started a campaign of conversion to Christianity. The Portuguese campaign ceased when the Tokugawa regime took over around 1600, because the Tokugawa feared that Christianity would divert loyalty away from the values that fueled their political power.[7] The next decades saw the implementation of a policy that restricted foreign interaction. The Chinese and the Dutch represented the most consequential exceptions to the self-isolation rule. The Dutch East India Company, also known as VOC (Veerenidge Oost Indische Compagnie), after a long trading relationship with Ming China, had to find an alternative

[7] Nancy Schiffer, *Japanese Porcelain 1800-1950*, 2nd edition (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 1999), p. 12.

when sociopolitical turmoil in China became detrimental to business. Japan was chosen as the viable alternative. Direct trade with the Dutch was allowed only at Dejima (**Fig.1**), an artificial island in the bay of Nagasaki, originally built to house the Portuguese. Through the Dutch East India Company, Japanese goods, including so-called decorative arts and especially porcelain, got distributed in dealer's shops in France and other European countries. This model of trade came to an end in 1795, when the trade documents of the Dutch East India Company expired.[8] This situation occurred in the midst of serious administrative, financial, and political problems that the company faced and that led to its dissolution only five years later, in 1800.[9]

The overwhelming majority of sources on Japan that reached France via the Dutch East India Company were, ironically, Japanese objects made for export. The acquisition of knowledge was severely hindered by the lack of any textual supplement to describe these objects. Little was known about the extent to which these export objects, especially ceramics, reflected how the Japanese craftsmen and producers responded to Dutch demands. In France, cultural entrepreneurs known as marchands-merciers commercialized the Japanese export objects of the Dutch East India Company. Dealing in Japanese and Chinese porcelain, the marchands-merciers matched such pieces of East

[8] Schiffer, p. 24.

[9] Although the company ceased to exist in 1800, it maintained its trading post in Japan until 1859 for complex reasons that included national pride and economic strategy. For more information on the Dutch East India Company in international sociopolitical context: Louis Perez, ed., *Japan at War: An Encyclopedia* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2013); Amelia Peck and Amy Bogansky, *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Louisa Balk, Frans Van Dijk, Diederick Kortlang, Femme Gaastra, Hendrik Niemeijer, and Pieter Koenders, *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institutions in Batavia* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2007).

Asian porcelain with French ormolu fittings and oversaw the cutting and mounting of the porcelain in order to accommodate framing devices. The marchand-mercier and the multicultural French-Japanese or French-Chinese porcelain of the eighteenth century have received considerable scholarly attention in the last couple of decades.[10] Inasmuch as eighteenth-century marchands-merciers and customers could distinguish between Chinese and Japanese porcelain, it was the Japanese porcelain that was generally deemed more valuable than the Chinese, because the former was harder to find on European markets.[11] It has been argued that the cutting and mounting of the porcelain amounted to a form of aggression to the foreign object, almost in an attempt to counteract the "Japaneseness" or "Chineseness" of the porcelain by subordinating it to the quintessential "French" aesthetic of the rococo ormolu fittings.[12] More recently, Kristel Smentek reconsidered this idea and argued, instead, that the alteration of East Asian porcelain by marchands-merciers was a form of "cultural translation" through which the French merchants showcased and ultimately celebrated the aesthetic of the Chinese or Japanese object by embedding it in a familiar and, from a French point of view, culturally appropriate framing.[13] On that, Smentek agrees with Stacey Pierson, who conceptualized

[10] Francis Watson, *Mounted Oriental Porcelain* (Washington, D.C.: International Exhibitions Foundation, c1986); Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: the Marchands Merciers of 18th century Paris* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum; Malibu, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996).

[11] Watson, *Mounted Oriental Porcelain*, p. 17.

[12] See, among other sources: Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: the Vision of Cathay* (London: Murray, 1961); F. Watson, *Mounted Oriental Porcelain* (International Exhibitions Foundation, 1986); C. Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: the Marchands Merciers of 18th century Paris* (Victoria and Albert Museum; Getty Museum, 1996); Kristel Smentek*, Rococo Exotic: French Mounted Porcelains and the Allure of the East* (New York: Frick Collection, 2007).

[13] Smentek in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute), pp. 44-45.

the alteration of East Asian porcelain as a (quite literally) "exceptionalizing process."[14] It seems to me that, although diametrically opposed, both interpretations have merit, in that it is conceivable that both impulses –featuring the foreign object and "taming" it with local framings – were at work.

Besides objects, some assorted texts about Japan and its arts became available over the years, either in French or other accessible European languages. Table 1 (see Appendices, A. Tables) provides a sample of these sources, detailing their place and date of production/ publication, their authors and contents, and the context of their reception in France prior to 1858. As Table 1 shows, most such sources came in the form of printed matter, either as books or compendia of prints. The majority of these publications – scarce to begin with – reached France via the Dutch East India Company; they were either Japanese collections of prints that emissaries of the Company brought back to Europe or books written by employees and ambassadors of the Company about their experiences and observations in Japan.

French authors who wrote about Japan derived their knowledge largely from Dutch accounts. For example, for his 1736 book, the French Jesuit priest Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix commented and built on *Histoire naturelle, civile et ecclésiastique de l'Empire du Japon* (1729), a highly popular French translation of Engelbert Kaempfer's book, published posthumously two years earlier in the Netherlands. A Dutch scientist with a broad interest in aesthetics and social and cultural history, Kaempfer contributed

[14] Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept: Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain* (Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

significantly to shaping, for better or for worse, how Japanese art was to be understood in the eighteenth century in Western Europe. To increase credibility in his own work, Charlevoix noted, in the preface to his book, that Kaempfer wrote his account with the intention to be factual and objective and that Kaempfer grounded his observations and comments in extensive research conducted in Japan.[15]

Kaempfer's book had three chapters: the first presented a general description of Japan, the second focused on the political organization of the Japanese state, and the third provided an account of religion in Japan. Information about Japanese culture was interspersed through all three chapters, but it was difficult to connect disparate fragments and to reconstruct a cohesive working paradigm on the arts. To offer an example of the kinds of information on Japanese material culture in Kaempfer's book, we will take a closer look at a section about the May 5th celebration of *tango no sekku* 端午の節 (Boys' Day) in Nagasaki. This section mentioned that Kyushu (the island where Nagasaki is situated) had the finest porcelain clay and that the Japanese valued the vessels made out of it because of their long history of use and because they preserved tea optimally.[16] Given that the clay is described as "verdâtre" or "greenish," it is unclear whether Kaempfer was referring to kaolin (porcelain clay) that had been discovered in the

[15] Pierre F. X. de Charlesvoix, *Histoire naturelle, civile et ecclésiastique de l'Empire du Japon* (Paris: Gandouin, 1736), vii. Charlevoix's main objection to Kaempfer's history was rooted in denominational differences; he claimed that Kaempfer, as a Protestant, disseminated incorrect and incomplete information about Christianity in Japan. As a Catholic and a Jesuit priest, Charlevoix sought to learn about early martyrdom in Japan and, more generally, to write a history of the "new worlds" in light of Christian (and specifically Catholic Jesuit) thought.

[16] Engelbert Kaempfer (Jean-Gaspar Scheuchzer, trans.), *Histoire naturelle, civile et ecclésiastique de l'Empire du Japon* (La Haye: P. Gosse et J. Neaulme, 1729), p. 191.

seventeenth century in Kyushu (Saga prefecture) or, showing his ignorance of glazing processes, he was referring to celadon wares (glazed stoneware). It is safe to assume that the latter was what Kaempfer meant, especially that celadon had been produced in Arita, at the Nabeshima kilns, since the beginnings of ceramics in Kyushu. Moreover, celadon wares had been used in China as well as Japan for the storage, consumption, and appreciation of tea in literati circles. What Kaempfer and his readers might not have understood was that what made celadon "greenish" was not the clay, but the firing of an iron-rich slip (liquefied clay). In relation to ceramics, the above-mentioned section in Kaempfer's book also referred the reader to another of his publications, *Amaenitates Exotica*, for it included an appendix summarizing the history of tea in Japan. To the patient reader interested in Japanese culture, Kaempfer's work provided a rich introduction to cultural and artistic practices, but it should be remembered that the information was sometimes misleading and hard to find in the book. Kaempfer's access to information was limited; he likely drew conclusions based on one-time observations or incomplete accounts, often devoid of technical and/ or historical contextualization.

Japanese texts were, for the most part, incomprehensible. Dutch accounts were by far more accessible than books published in Japan, because the former, if not already published in French, as was the case with some, could be more readily translated into French. Because of the language barrier, the only kinds of Japanese sources on Japan that could easily inform the French had to come in the form of images. The sovereignty of visual information as epistemological source affected what the French learned about

Japan and how they acquired such knowledge.[17] This privileged channel of knowledge transmission allowed for an intuitive understanding of Japanese modes of representation, visual hierarchies, widespread motifs, and some cultural customs and references, but offered little or no contextual information in terms of history and values.

Sales and public auction catalogues are valuable sources to understand what kinds of Japanese texts, images, and objects were available in early modern Europe and specifically in Paris.[18] However, it must be remembered that these objects, although physically in Paris, remained largely unknown to the general public, as they passed through the hands of a limited number of wealthy collectors. Moreover, as Table 1 shows, these catalogues did not document who bought the individual objects within any given collection, which makes it harder to identify who might have ultimately seen them. This situation would change gradually after 1858, when French collectors began to document their purchases and sales of Japanese art and shared their collections with both the general public, via exhibitions, and with selected circles of French painters, printmakers, and ceramists who produced japoniste images and objects.

[17] Some useful sources on images in the acquisition of knowledge and in learning processes: Norman Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the ancien Régime* (New York: Cambridge U.P., 1981); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1989); Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); *Perceptual Learning*, ed. vol. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); *Images of Knowledge: the Epistemic Lives of Pictures and Visualisations*, ed. vol. (Frankfurt, New York: PL, 2016).

[18] An invaluable aid for finding auction catalogues is the monumental index compiled by the Dutch art collector Frits Lugt (1884-1970), including over 100,000 European sales from 1600 to 1925. http://tl2.idcpublishers.info/content/aboutlugt.php.

Eighteenth-century porcelain manufactories like that of Saint-Cloud produced soft-paste porcelain inspired by Chinese and Japanese porcelain in royal collections, especially that of the Duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis XIV and patron of the St.-Cloud ceramic enterprise.[19] This phenomenon foreshadowed and quite closely paralleled the nineteenth-century emulation of Japanese ceramic models, provided by collectors who were often also involved in the production of new French ceramics (e.g. Charles Haviland, whose activity and role are discussed in detail in the following chapter). In the second half of the nineteenth century, manufactories were largely privately owned and the collections from which the East Asian ceramic models came belonged to members of the bourgeoisie who understood more about their possessions, were better equipped to distinguish between Chinese and Japanese ceramics, and used trips to East Asia and/ or Japanese advisers (like Hayashi Tadamasa or Ninagawa Noritane) as seals of legitimacy.

Knowledge of French Art in Japan before 1858

The port city of Nagasaki and, since its establishment in 1634, the artificial island Dejima 出島 (literally "departure island" in Japanese) represented the only points of contact between Japan and the rest of the world except China and Korea. As such, Nagasaki represented a unique source of knowledge about Western art and culture, from Jesuit art brought in the sixteenth century by Portuguese and Spanish missionaries to a wide range of examples of Western material culture, brought by the Dutch East India Company and

[19] "French Decorative Arts During the Reign of Louis XIV 1654–1715." In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 46, no. 4 (1989).

occasional emissaries. In this context, knowledge about France and its art and culture was indirect and incomplete, much like the knowledge about Japan in France. Nonetheless, certain characteristics of French art that belonged to a pan-European artistic language – such as one-point perspective, oil painting, chiaroscuro, and Christian iconography – were known (and even practiced) in Japan to an extent that exceeded by far the understanding of some of the fundamental artistic devices of Japanese art in France.

As Naoko Hioki has recently shown, possibly as early as the first decades of the seventeenth century, Japanese painters and European missionaries collaborated, in Japan, on the production of multicultural paintings that combined East Asian elements (e.g. the folding screen as support, Japanese paper and pigments, the genre of *sansui* 山水/ "mountains and water," and Buddhist iconography) with European elements (e.g. one-point perspective, chiaroscuro and illusionism, compositional structures pertaining to the history painting genre, and Christian iconography).[20] Hioki's analysis of such collaborative works – like the seventeenth-century *Yōjin sōgakuzu* 洋人奏楽図/ "Europeans Playing Music" (**Fig.2**) – emphasizes the distinction between *nanban byōbu* 南蛮屏風 (literally "Southern barbarian screens"), designating Japanese folding-screen paintings depicting scenes of Europeans, and "Western-style" painting, a category of its own, defined by the adoption of principles of representation such as perspective and

[20] Naoko Frances Hioki, "Visual Bilingualism and Mission Art: A Reconsideration of 'Early Western-Style Painting' in Japan" in *Japan Review*, No. 23 (2011), pp. 23-44.

modeling.[21] The latter category overlaps with *nanban*, in that the subject matter is often European-themed, but what defines it is not what is depicted, but how it is depicted.

Hioki uses terms such as "Western-style," "bilingual," and "hybrid" to characterize the combination of local and adopted aspects in paintings like "Europeans Playing Music."[22] While these designations are helpful in identifying early Japanese-European collaborations, it should be noted that the terms "Western" and even "hybrid" remain highly problematic. As Carolyn Dean has suggested, an unacknowledged selectivity is at the core of scholarly discourse on multicultural hybridity: "The descriptive term 'hybrid' (…) performs a double move: it homogenizes things European and sets them in opposition to similarly homogenized non-European conventions."[23] In light of this critique about homogenizing language, how can one discern what was known specifically about French art by looking at images – designated as *nanban* or "Western-style" or hybrid – that are ultimately a multilayered mix of pan-European and East Asian influences? The main insight is that the Japanese painters who had learned European techniques in the Jesuit "seminario" went on to apply these lessons to their painting,[24] creating a sense of familiarity that, later on, made French painting more legible.

[21] Hioki, pp. 27-28.

[22] Hioki, pp. 24-25, 34-35.

[23] Carolyn Dean & Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America" in *Colonial Latin American Review*, 2003, 12:1, p. 6.

[24] Hioki, p. 34. A well-known example of a Japanese advocate of Western-style painting is the seventeenth-century painter Yamada Emosaku 山田右衛門作.

Jesuit missionaries and their commissions led to not only *nanban* and "Western-style" Japanese paintings, but also locally produced utensils that, in the realm of the applied arts, equally combined Japanese practices with adopted techniques and themes. Such projects forged fashionable styles that playfully emulated Western aesthetic solutions and, in time, became part of the Japanese decorative repertory. For example, the interest of Japanese officials and collectors in Dutch ceramics and glassware led to the importation of Dutch decorative motifs in Japanese art in various mediums, from prints depicting local "famous views" framed by Dutch letters (**Fig**.**3**) to telescopes adorned with Dutch-style landscape and portrait vignettes (**Fig.4**).[25] The commissions given the Dutch East India Company by some Japanese warlords (like the daimyo of Kurume)[26] and the appropriation of Dutch motifs echoes, to some extent, the practices of nineteenth-century Japanese artists and collectors who engaged with French (and other European) japoniste projects. For example, when Arita-based ceramist Fukagawa Ezaemon visited Limoges to understand French techniques as well as the French fascination with Japanese porcelain, he was aware of the rich tradition of Arita ware that combined Japanese glazing techniques with Dutch-inspired motifs (**Fig.5**). As Oka Yasumasa explained, such Arita ware represented the ceramic equivalent of nanban folding screens.[27]

[25] Oka Yasumasa, "Hollandisme in Japanese Craftwork" in *Japan Envisions the West: 16th-19th Century Japanese Art from Kobe City Museum*, ed. Yukiko Shirahara (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, University of Washington Press, 2007), pp. 135, 137, 142.

[26] Oka, p. 135.

[27] Oka, p. 160.

In the realm of ceramics, if the French practice of altering East Asian porcelain is well documented, the presence and influence of European ceramics in Japan prior to the end of its isolationist policy still awaits more extensive scholarly engagement.[28] These Dutch bowls, produced for export to Japan (**Fig.6**), exemplify a nebulous category known as Oranda オランダ (Dutch) ware. The name captures the fact that the Dutch East India Company was, with few exceptions, the exclusive channel of communication between Japan and the many ceramic traditions of Europe.[29] According to Ono Yoshihiro, although Kyoto was a bastion of Japanese tradition, Kyoto residents were nonetheless drawn to the "exotic," including common European ceramics, produced for domestic markets and not for export to Japan, especially bottle containers and tableware that were made available on the Japanese market in the late eighteenth century. These European ceramics included Dutch ware, English ware (mainly Minton and Wedgewood), German ware (mainly Meissen), and French ware (mainly Limoges and Sèvres).[30] For example, this late eighteenth-century Limoges tureen, featuring a "ribbon" gilt decoration on white background (**Fig.7**), was commercialized at the Nakamura shop in the Gion district of Kyoto.[31] It should be noted that such European ceramics were quasi-contemporaneous, made available in Japan as foreign "Dutch ware" only years after their production in European ceramic centers like Limoges. This print (**Fig.8**) shows Dutch emissaries

[28] One of the few studies of this topic is: Ono Yoshihiro et al, eds., *Akogare no yōroppa tōji: Maisen Sēvuru Minton to no deai* 憧れのヨーロッパ陶磁 : マイセン・ セーヴル・ ミントンとの出会い/ *Japan's Encounter with European Ceramics: Dreaming of Meissen, Sèvres and Minton* (Osaka: Yomiuri Shinbun, 2008).

[29] *Japan's Encounter with European Ceramics: Dreaming of Meissen, Sèvres and Minton,* p. 83.

[30] *Japan's Encounter with European Ceramics: Dreaming of Meissen, Sèvres and Minton,* p. 13.

[31] *Japan's Encounter with European Ceramics: Dreaming of Meissen, Sèvres and Minton,* p. 39.

stopping at the Nikenchaya restaurant, a famous traditional restaurant in Kyoto, on their way back to the Dejima island from Edo; on such occasions, dishes like the Limoges tureen (Figure 7) would be used; the practice was well-known enough to be included in a compendium of "famous views" like *Shūi miyako meisho zue* 拾遺都名所圖會 of 1787.[32]

Parallel Occurrences and Cross-cultural Affinity

The notions of "multiple discovery" and "parallel development" have been used to describe situations in which independent agents, mostly unaware of one another's pursuits, arrive concomitantly at the same or similar scientific conclusions and/ or discoveries.[33] This phenomenon extends beyond the realm of science. The simultaneous occurrence of a social practice in different communities that have minimal or no contact represents a topic of research in social anthropology; directly related to it is the issue of historical recurrence, studied in numerous fields of the humanities, including art history. Why are parallel occurrences relevant and of interest here? Although usually discussed in the framework of social and cultural evolution, this topic is important to my project because of its close association with cross-cultural affinity. Discrete communities of cultural agents acknowledge a sense of affinity with one another when they recognize that they had developed similar aesthetic practices, mostly unbeknownst to one another

[32] *Japan's Encounter with European Ceramics: Dreaming of Meissen, Sèvres and Minton,* p. 7. A print from the second vol. of *Shūi miyako Meisho zue* 拾遺都名所圖會, a multi-volume compendium of "famous views" of Kyoto, published in 1787. The poetic inscriptions are by the haikai poet Akisato Magakijima; images are by the painter Takehara Shunchosai.

[33] David Lamb and Susan Easton, *Multiple Discovery: The Pattern of Scientific Progress* (Buckinghamshire: Avebury, 1984).

and at great temporal and/or geographical distances. Power dynamics and other external factors quickly complicate and ultimately shape such cross-cultural relationships. "Parallel development" in the arts necessarily predates periods of cultural diffusion. Edward Tylor and later anthropologists shed light on how both theories of evolution and theories of cultural diffusion illuminate cross-cultural similarities.[34] The examples of French and Japanese ceramics presented in this section cannot be fully explained through the lens of cultural diffusion; instead, they are integral to the aesthetic and sociocultural conditions that set the stage for the later emergence of largely successful patterns of diffusion in French-Japanese context. This prehistory helps illuminate the impact of diffusion-driven similarities, to be explored through the lens of the ceramic medium.

Prior to nineteenth-century Japonisme, a mutual cross-cultural fascination developed between some Western European cultures and Japan; in the realm of ceramics, it manifested itself through various forms of appropriation, as exemplified by the French practice of cutting Japanese and Chinese porcelain and mounting it with French gilt fittings and by the Japanese practice of imitating Sèvres and Meissen ceramics, as well as Dutch and English ware, in local porcelain workshops, as described in prior sections of this chapter. The following examples are restricted to France and Japan and are considered in terms of both "parallel developments," grounded in Western European and East Asian traditions, respectively, and mutual influences that arose from partial and indirect exchanges during the early modern period.

[34] David Bidney, *Theoretical Anthropology* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 200-201.

For instance, both France and Japan have a long tradition of producing compendia of prints of an instructional nature for artists and artisans; in both cultures, these projects are taxonomic as well as educational and most often take the form of pattern books (such as Jean de Jullienne's 1726 *Figures des Différents Caractères*, containing figures and compositions from the visual repertory of Antoine Watteau, and Takashima Chiharu's 1840 *Kyūko zufu* 求古図譜, containing motifs that were widespread in Japanese visual culture across mediums and especially in textiles). Artisan pattern books in France are rooted in a long European tradition that goes back to Renaissance treatises and medieval manuscripts; artisan pattern books in Japan find their origins in earlier Japanese lists and compendia as well as similar Chinese documents that made their way to Japan. Grounded in their respective histories, the French and Japanese traditions of pattern books for the decorative and industrial arts encouraged, in each culture respectively, the availability and use of shared motifs by different artists and in different mediums; it also established the medium of prints as a favorite vehicle for the dissemination of visual vocabulary and aesthetic principles. As it will be shown in subsequent chapters, prints and ceramics became closely connected mediums in the japoniste era in France and Japan; examples include French ceramics decorated with motifs taken from Japanese prints and Japanese porcelain decorated with motifs taken from French prints.

Another example comes from the area of ceramic production. French nineteenth-century ceramic manufactories and Japanese Hizen-area ceramic workshops presented similar modes of production. Kyushu's Hizen-area workshops developed, for centuries, integrated practices according to which each artisan contributed to the final product by

working on only one very specialized task.[35] Similarly, in nineteenth-century France, ceramic manufactories like Boulenger's at Choisy-le-Roi developed a production system according to which each workshop within the manufactory specialized in only one type of product (i.e. plates, cups, etc.) and each artisan had a predetermined role, prefiguring assembly-line work.[36] It can be argued that these similarities made it easier for Japanese and French ceramists to understand each other's methods and processes when Japanese producers paid research visits to French manufactories and vice versa. The similar configuration of the workshop/ manufactory must have provided an initial sense of familiarity that encouraged the visitor to probe deeper into organizational structures or to focus on other aspects, such as local materials and new technologies. For example, when the porcelain producer Fukagawa Eizaemon visited the ceramic studios in Limoges and bought steam-powered ceramic equipment that Limoges ceramists were using, he knew that the new technology would be easily implemented at home, considering the similar patterns of manufacturing at his company Kōransha.[37]

At the level of ceramic decoration, a number of similar aesthetic principles are at work in both East Asian and Western European porcelain and stoneware. They include: the imitation of other materials (e.g. marble, bamboo, canework) in the medium of ceramics,

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[35] Nancy Schiffer, *Japanese Porcelain 1800-1950*, p. 24.

[36] Florence Slitine, « Quand des fabriques de céramique font appel aux artistes. Les exemples de Montereau, Choisy-le-Roi et Charenton-le-Pont dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle », in Pierre Lamard et al, *Art & Industrie*, 2013, 155. Slitine's article is one of few addressing the role of ceramic manufactories in the redefinition of art hierarchies in late nineteenth-century France.

[37] Nakayama Seiki, *Arita yogyo no nagare to sono ashioto: Kōransha hyakunen no ayum*i/ 有田窯業の流れとその足おと―香蘭社百年の歩み (Arita: Kōransha, 1980), pp. 40-43.

the shaping of vessel components as vegetal or animal forms (e.g. handles as lions, knobs as apples), and the shaping of vessels as natural or manmade objects (e.g. lidded bowls in the shape of cauliflower, plates shaped as hats). These four ceramic objects (**Fig. 9-12**) were produced between 1720 and 1760 and present a salient common characteristic: they are all vegetable-shaped. The 1720 Japanese vase comes in the form of bamboo stalks; the 1745 German tureen is shaped as a lettuce head; the 1755 English tureen describes the shape of a bunch of asparagus; and the 1760 French tureen has a radish-shaped knob and leaf-shaped handles. Each of these objects is exemplary of thousands of similar ceramics produced in the eighteenth century in East Asia and Western Europe. Similarly, these other four eighteenth-century ceramics (**Fig. 13-16**) – Chinese, French, English, and Japanese, respectively – share a defining characteristic in that they imitate a different material. The Chinese censer and the French saucer imitate bronze and marble, respectively, materials that were of higher economic and sociocultural value and thereby more desirable. The Japanese vase and the English pot imitate bronze and wood, respectively, materials that evoke certain cultural references, such as the aesthetic ideal of ancient Chinese bronzes (as is the case with the Japanese vase) and the iconography of Bacchus (on the English pot). The reasons for choosing a material to imitate are diverse, but the formal device for expressing them – namely, imitating another material in the ceramic medium – is the same, whether the objects are East Asian or Western European.

What explains the pervasive and fashionable character of the vegetable-shaped vessel or of cross-material emulation in different ceramic centers around the world? One the one hand, the common practice emerged independently in each region, fueled by culturally

specific traditions; on the other hand, it was due to an international exchange of information, enabled by trade, collecting, and book publishing. The circulation of ideas between manufactories in France and those in England (e.g. Chelsea) and Germany (e.g. Meissen) are historically easy to account for, considering the interconnected European cultural worlds of the long eighteenth century. Similarly close was the circulation of ideas and images between China and Japan. But an exchange of aesthetic solutions also developed between China and Japan, on the one hand, and France, Germany, and England, on the other, although it was of a drastically different nature, complicated by indirect access and mutual mistranslations of cultural references.

While cross-cultural exchanges encouraged the development of similar decorative practices over time, shared tactics of decoration are also to be traced back to aesthetic and sociocultural roots that are culture-specific. In Japan, the prominence of cross-materiality finds its origins in three interconnected concepts: first, *rusu moyō* 留守模様, translatable to a metonymical process of identifying absent human figures by iconographic attributes in the form of natural or manmade elements; second, *karumi* 軽み, translated as lightheartedness or playfulness, a notion that originated in popular literary forms such as renga and was subsequently adopted in the visual arts; and third, a more general notion of connecting word and image and creating a shared visual and literary pool of transferrable motifs, encompassing specific aesthetic devices such as *mitate* 見立 (a form of visual simile by which Chinese and Japanese cultural references are invoked to comment on contemporaneous figures and situations,) and *makura kotoba* 枕詞 (literally, "pillow words," designating embedded cultural references through semantic or phonetic

associations). In France, the playful emulation of materials and mediums can be attributed to other sets of culturally specific traditions, such as the arabesque and the related sub-genre of chinoiserie, which, as categories of ornament, defied rules of representation and cleverly subverted the natural order of things.

In the early modern period, the respective sociocultural models of France and Japan presented commonalities that contributed to similar modes of artistic expression. The sociopolitical affinities between the two countries have already been the object of historiographical research and analysis. A comparative study of Edo (later renamed Tokyo) and Paris has shown that both urban centers played important roles in legitimizing and enforcing centralized (and absolutist) political power in the hands of the shogun and the king, respectively.[38] What has not been fully addressed yet is the artistic production that resulted from, and fed into, these similar societies. For example, the subject matter of urban modernity created a sense of mutual interest and familiarity when French artists emulated Japanese ukiyo-e and mitate-e prints and, later on, when Japanese yōga (Meiji-period Western-style) artists emulated French impressionism.

Also, both Japan and France had long traditions of emulation and adaptation of foreign techniques and values in the arts. These traditions developed within the respective regional and sociopolitical context of each country and intersected and fueled each other

[38] James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, "Edo and Paris: Cities and Power" in *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Ugawa Kaoru, eds. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 4: "In Japan and in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, state power and administrative capitals grew together, for only from the urban center could claimants to national hegemony hope to spread their authority over the rest of the nation."

at times, especially after the opening of Japan to foreign trade. In Japan, the tradition of emulation built largely on the imitation and adaptation of Chinese art in ways that delivered political statements, such as the alignment of the Tokugawa regime with Confucianist values, fueling social changes through material culture.[39] In France, Italian and German soft-paste porcelain, itself imitating Chinese and Japanese porcelain, inspired the development of French soft-paste porcelain in the late seventeenth century, at the level of both technique and decorative motifs. Especially at Vincennes-Sèvres, this type of ceramic production with foreign roots functioned as a media technology for the French monarchy, playing significant roles in social legitimation, propaganda, and gift diplomacy.[40] New art that adapted foreign art represented a key source for change in French visual culture; in ways similar to how Western European porcelain services, imbued with strategically placed diplomatic messages, functioned as "discussion pieces" on social occasions, simple Chinese jars, imbued with aesthetic and ethical values, became prized possessions and objects that catalyzed conversation in Momoyama- and Edo-period tea ceremonies. Combining influences from both traditions, in the second half of the nineteenth century, French japoniste ceramics became a catalyst for artistic and cultural reformation.

Not coincidentally, some of the most influential French Japanese-style ceramics were equally inspired by French eighteenth-century art and culture. For example, the 1866-67 Bracquemond-Rousseau table service, considered to be the first set of japoniste ceramics,

[39] Marius Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

[40] Liana Paredes, *Sèvres Then and Now: Tradition and Innovation in Porcelain* (Washington, D.C.: Hillwood Museum and Gardens Foundation in association with D. Giles Ltd., 2009).

was known as both "service japonais" and "service Louis XV" because of how it blended late Edo-period Japanese influences and eighteenth-century rococo French influences (see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of this ceramic set). This blend found its roots in a long-held sense of cross-cultural affinity. As George Brunel noted, the imitation of East Asian vegetable-shaped ceramics was fueled by a French eighteenth-century interest in the disjunction between representationally accurate shape and arbitrarily chosen color.[41] This artichoke-shaped Saint-Cloud pot imitates the appearance of a natural element, but intentionally leaves the object white or "blank," as if to remind the viewer of the reality of the ceramic medium in which the illusion is created (**Fig.17**). The similarity of rococo and some Japanese art, partly fueled by eighteenth-century chinoiserie and japonaiserie, was evoked and described more directly than ever in the second half of the nineteenth century. Not coincidentally, the 1725 Saint-Cloud pot belonged to Adrien Dubouché (1818-1881), collector of Japanese ceramics who was also actively collecting French ceramics that emulated Japanese models (see Chapter 2). Another prominent advocate of this affinity was the writer and Japanese art collector Edmond de Goncourt (1822-1896). As Pamela Warner, among others, has noted, Goncourt admired Watteau and Chardin as well as Hokusai and Utamaro and found many parallels between the two sets of artists.[42] Specifically, Watteau and Hokusai, on the one hand, and Fragonard and Utamaro, on the other, were compared as similar in artistic sensibility and choices of subject matter, as

[41] George Brunel, entry for cat. no. 131 in *Pagodes et dragons: exotisme et fantaisie dans l'Europe rococo, 1720-1770*, exh. cat. (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2007), p. 245.

[42] Pamela Warner, "Compare and Contrast: Rhetorical Strategies in Edmond de Goncourt's Japonisme," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, vol. 8, issue no. 1, 2009.

"geniuses" of their respective times and cultures.[43] For Goncourt, art in both France and Japan, particularly in the long eighteenth-century, was more similar than not, in that it reflected a celebration of the everyday, expressed with refined elegance. From Felix Bracquemond's designs to Edmond de Goncourt's writings, the French-Japanese cross-cultural affinity was a key ingredient in the emergence of Japonisme and in its manifestation in ceramics.

The Relevance of Ceramics for Sociocultural Change in France and in Japan

In light of these comments about the cross-cultural French-Japanese affinity, grounded in "parallel developments" and mutual influence, it should be noted that ceramics played a significant role in performing and reflecting sociocultural change in both countries.

In France, the art critic and advocate of realism Champfleury (1821-1889) was one of the first cultural critics to investigate the potential of ceramics as a political instrument. He collected revolutionary folk ceramics and built on this collection to write a history of the French revolution through the lens of material culture. The resulting book, *Histoire des Faïences Patriotiques sous la Révolution,* appeared in 1867, the year of the Paris World's Fair and an important moment in the development of japoniste ceramics (see Chapter 3).

Especially at World's Fairs, ceramics were used to showcase technical achievement and to illustrate the accomplishments in arts and crafts of various countries. Like other

[43] Goncourt, *Outamaro: le peintre des maisons vertes* (Paris: Charpentier, 1891); Inaga Shigemi, "The Making of Hokusai's Reputation in the Context of Japonisme" in *Japan Review* 15, 2003.

featured artifacts, ceramics were presented as symbols of national pride in an international arena.[44] As carriers of political messages, ceramics designed and produced for the World's Fairs were made more intricate, more adorned, and often simply bigger, pushing the limits of the medium. For example, in 1867, the year of Champfleury's book on ceramics illustrating revolutionary sentiment, the national manufactory of Sèvres presented, at the World's Fair, its largest vase, whose production was enabled by the technical innovation of compressed air cooling (**Fig.18**).[45] Similarly, Japanese ceramic vases sent to World's Fairs were monumental in size and featured a sample of decorative motifs that sought to encapsulate the aesthetic identity of the producer and, by extension, the region and Japan itself. An example is the pair of vases presented by the Fukagawa porcelain manufactory at the 1900 World's Fair (see the discussion of Fukagawa porcelain in Chapter 3). In both countries and at an international level, ceramics embodied the tension between political opposition and state propaganda and between the aspirations of local producers and the collective desire for a superseding national character that local ceramics would ideally capture.

Ceramics with political content combined educational, celebratory, and propagandistic functions. Examples range from limited-edition ceramics that circulated among political and cultural leaders of the opposition, such as the "Republican plate" of the secret society Jing-lar (see the third section of Chapter 2), to popular ceramics that functioned as a

[44] Jason T. Busch and Catherine L. Futter, eds*., Inventing the Modern World: Decorative Arts at the World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Art; Kansas City: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art; New York: Skira , 2012).

[45] "Vase Neptune." Museum label and museum file for accessioned object no. MNC 7690. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Paris.

media outlet for the government, including plates decorated with miniature versions of history paintings celebrating battle victories and inaugurations of public monuments and institutions (**Fig.19**). In many cultures around the world, from the Mamluk Sultanate to Russia during the reign of Catherine the Great, ceramics carrying messages of cultural and political power have been used as tools of diplomacy, being offered as gifts or displayed strategically in locations of high visibility. Ceramics fulfilled this role in France and in Japan as well; notable examples include the Sèvres candelabrum offered by Napoleon I to the pope Pius VII[46] and the Takatori tea pottery produced exclusively as gifts for the Kuroda warlords.[47] Studies of this custom of the strategic offering of ceramic gifts have conceptualized it as a form of soft power, namely "porcelain diplomacy."[48]

In France and in Japan, as in other cultures, ceramic workshops and manufactories would use this tradition of anniversary and commemorative ceramics to celebrate the very medium of ceramics and the practices and techniques associated with ceramic production. For example, from 1822 to 1835, Alexandre Brongniart (1770-1847), the director of the royal manufactory of Sèvres, initiated and coordinated the production of the *Service des Arts Industriels*, a table service whose decoration illustrated the various occupations known as "the industrial arts" (**Fig.20**). Although the service was a commercial failure, it was a bold decision to use the ceramic medium and the national manufactory in order to

[46] Karl Baedeker, *Italy: Handbook for Travellers* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1904), p. 366.

[47] Andrew Maske, *Potters and Patrons in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), p. 13.

[48] Among other sources: Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, ed., *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts ca. 1710-63* (Published for The Bard Graduate Center, New York, by Yale University Press, c2007).

record and celebrate the industrial progress of the early nineteenth century.[49] Among the vignettes illustrating industrial production on the set's plates were images that celebrated, and educated about, the phases of porcelain production at Sèvres itself (**Fig.21**). Porcelain with images of porcelain making continued to be made at Sèvres, especially for anniversary purposes; for example, a Sèvres vase with allegorical images of porcelain making commemorated the inauguration of the new manufactory in 1879 (**Fig.22**). If the 1879 vase was made specifically for Sèvres, Brongniart's service was to be sold to the general public. In Japan as well, some decorated porcelain featured images of porcelain production, educating the consumer about the traditional phases of making the very object that carried the image. For example, Arita-produced plates depicted the stages of porcelain making specific to the Arita region (**Fig.23**). As curator Menno Fitski explained, this nineteenth-century Arita plate had an uncontestable "documentary" purpose and its value as such remains relevant to this day, enriching knowledge about Arita porcelain making in the nineteenth century.[50] Similarly, ceramic vessels were often decorated with images of ceramic vessels (see last section of Chapter 3). In Japan as in France, ceramics-themed ceramics used the anniversary function of ceramic decoration for the purpose of educating about, and drawing attention to, the medium itself.

[49] Museum label and file for accessioned object no. MNC 26782. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Paris. According to curatorial notes from Sèvres, Brongniart's unusual thematic choice for the service is to be correlated with the increased interest in industrial arts, stimulated by the industrial exhibitions taking place at the Palais du Louvre and foreshowing the World's Fairs.

[50] Menno Fitski, "A Large Japanese Blue and White Dish Depicting a Porcelain Factory" in *Van Gogh Museum Journal*, 1997-1998, p. 105.

The self-referential character of this practice and its implications will be explored at length throughout this study; topics will include how the historical roles assigned to ceramics in France and in Japan influenced ceramics collecting in the japoniste period (Chapter 2), self-referentiality as a key aesthetic principle in japoniste ceramics (Chapter 3), and the impact of self-referential japoniste art on new categories and taxonomies, such as the emergence of modernism and the reformulation of a history of Japanese art in France as well as in Japan (Chapter 4).

Chapter 2
Collecting and Emulating Japanese Ceramics

The mutual cultural interest between France and Japan, especially after the beginning of direct diplomatic relations, led to a shift in the patterns of cross-cultural understanding and emulation that I sketched in the introductory chapter. In France, two closely related activities were pursued in new ways: first, collecting objects from Japan and second, producing objects that drew directly on Japanese sources.

The aim of this chapter is to elaborate on little-known connections between these two pursuits and to illuminate how these activities relied on an interplay of knowledge acquisition, quest for authenticity, and sociopolitical power. The current chapter provides an overview of collecting "Japan" in nineteenth-century France, with a focus on collecting Japanese ceramics, and analyzes, with sociological tools, the social network that French and Japanese collectors and producers forged in an international context. To shed light on the interplay of knowledge and power in the processes of collecting and emulating Japanese art, the chapter takes on two case studies: a Japanese object in a French collection and the socio-cultural life of a small town in France that married the French ceramic tradition with innovative practices inspired by Japanese art.

2.1. Collecting "Japan" in Nineteenth-Century France

At the end of Japan's centuries-old self-isolation era, Japanese merchants began to export Japanese objects, including large quantities of diverse local ceramics, and thereby to

compete with French and other Western dealers.[51] Additionally, travel to Japan became an option and several French collectors acquired their Japanese objects directly from Japan.[52] As a result, many Japanese objects entered France and its markets without the mediation of a third party, such as the Dutch East India Company. More importantly, information about such objects became, within years, more accessible, as instruction in the Japanese language was made available. That is especially significant because language previously represented a central obstacle in the transmission of knowledge. That is not to say that many persons in France could in fact speak, read, and write Japanese, but enough interest existed to warrant the publication, begun as early as 1854, of a 28-volume textbook on Japanese grammar and writing that included practice exercises for reading in Japanese.[53] Other, more immediate ways in which newly acquired knowledge became available in France included the travel diaries of the first French collectors who visited Japan, their conversations with artists and merchants in France, and the decisions they took in terms of how to conceptualize and display their collections. Their diaries and conversations recorded what they learned in Japan, via translators, about the objects they bought or wanted to buy. Accurate information and misunderstandings alike entered the arsenal of Japan-related images and ideas that French artists used in their works.

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[51] Among other sources: Imai Yuko, "Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics" in *Japan Review*16, 2004, p. 102.

[52] Collectors from other Western countries traveled to Japan and made acquisitions directly from Japanese dealers and shops; one of the best known of these collectors was Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908), who first travelled to Japan in 1878 before being appointed a professor at Tokyo Imperial University. Many studies have been dedicated to Fenollosa and his controversial legacy.

[53] Léon de Rosny, *Cours de langue japonaise* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, 1854-1872?), 28 vol.

Some contemporaneous Japanese collectors and dealers who specialized in Japanese artifacts advised French collectors and influenced what was known and what was owned in France. For example, Ninagawa Noritane 蜷川式胤 (1835-1882), an archaeologist and collector of Japanese ceramics in Japan, advised the French collector and dealer Siegfried Bing on what to acquire during Bing's stay in Japan in 1880. Some years earlier, starting in 1876, Ninagawa authored *Kanko zusetsu* 観古図説/ *Notice historique et descriptive sur les arts et industries japonais*, a 10-volume book on the arts and industries of Japan, five volumes of which were published bilingually in Japanese and French at Lévy's press in Yokohama. The portions in French included detailed historical and stylistic descriptions of Japanese ceramics, from stoneware to porcelain and from different eras and regions.[54] In his book, Ninagawa included lithograph illustrations of ceramics that he considered exemplary of various styles. It was these objects that Bing sought; he managed to buy many of them, either from Ninagawa's collection or as equivalents thereof. Through this systematic activity, Bing reconstructed, in the form of a collection, the ceramic history that Ninagawa formulated in volumes II through V of his book.[55]

The significance of both Ninagawa's book and Bing's collection cannot be overstated. Although the book and the collection have been publicly known ever since, modern

[54] Ninagawa Noritane, *Kanko zusetsu: tōki no bu* **観古図説**: **陶器の部**/ *Notice historique et descriptive sur les arts et industries japonais* ("Historical and Descriptive Notes on the Arts and Industries of Japan: Ceramics"), 10 vol., lithograph illustrations (Tokyo: Gengendō, 1876-1878).

[55] Edward Sylvester Morse, "Ninagawa's Types of Japanese Pottery" in *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 1913, IX: 10. Morse traveled to Japan, studied the history of Japanese ceramics with Ninagawa, and, like Bing, tried to reconstruct Ninagawa's taxonomy by collecting all of the objects that he had offered as examples in his book. It was in this context that Morse learned that Bing had already brought many of the objects he was seeking to Europe. Morse became the main adviser and donor for the collection of Japanese ceramics at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

mainstream art history has largely ignored Ninagawa's work and its role in shaping not only Bing's collection, but also the French understanding of Japanese aesthetics in general and ceramics in particular.[56] The fact that Ninagawa's work was far-reaching is undeniable. If the book itself did not circulate widely in nineteenth-century Paris, Bing disseminated information from it not only by means of his collection, but also by paraphrasing Ninagawa and reproducing illustrations from *Kanko zusetsu* in Bing's short-lived, but highly popular magazine *Le Japon artistique*[57] and in the chapter on ceramics that he contributed to the first French textbook on Japanese art, Louis Gonse's *L'art japonais* of 1883. The ways in which Ninagawa's background as an archaeologist affected the conceptualization of Japanese ceramics in both Japan and France are investigated at length in Chapter 4 of the current study. For now, it suffices to say that the existence of this channel of nuanced knowledge was a milestone that enabled French collectors to make informed decisions about what to collect.

Another influential Japanese dealer and adviser was Wakai Kanesaburō (1834-1908). Even more consequential was his interpreter and assistant, Hayashi Tadamasa (1853-1906), a collector and dealer in his own right who played a major role in the restructuring of values and hierarchies of Japanese arts and crafts. Both Wakai and Hayashi worked for

[56] In light of the significance of such a comprehensive source informing one of the best-known French collections of Japanese art, too few modern studies mention it and even fewer engage with it at length. These studies include: Gabriel P. Weisberg, Edwin Becker, Evelyne Possémé, *The Origins of L'art Nouveau: The Bing Empire* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2004); Imai Yuko, "Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics" in *Japan Review* 16, 2004; Hirayama Hina, ""A True Japanese Taste": Construction of Knowledge about Japan in Boston, 1880-1900", Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1999; Louise Cort, *Seto and Mino Ceramics* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art; Smithsonian Institution, 1992), p. 163.

[57] Siegfried Bing, *Artistic Japan: Illustrations and Essays*, vol. 5: no. 17, p. 64; no. 29, p. 381.

Kiritsu kōshō gaisha 起立工商会社 (1873-1891), the export company established by the Japanese government for trading and the promotion of Japanese goods abroad. As employees of this company, Wakai and Hayashi sold Japanese art to European collectors and organized displays of collections of Japanese art in public venues; perhaps the best known of these displays was that of the Japanese pavilion at the Trocadéro in Paris, organized by Hayashi (as Japan's commissioner-general) for the World's Fair of 1900.[58] Chapter 4 details the many ways in which Hayashi influenced the conceptualization of "Japanese art" in France as well as in Japan, from advising Louis Gonse in the formulation of what was to be the first history of Japanese art in France to preventing Japanese artisans and merchants who had participated in the 1900 World's Fair from selling their goods after the event, for ethical reasons that privileged art over commerce.[59] For our purposes here, it is worth noting that Hayashi's knowledge of Japanese culture and his fluency in both the French language and international diplomacy provided new access to knowledge and objects for French collectors and artists.

However, Hayashi's influence was not always disinterested or even benign. His dealing in Japanese art was controversial at best, as he would capitalize on the difference in the value assigned ukiyo-e prints in Japan versus France by buying them cheaply in Japan and selling them for high prices in France; furthermore, Hayashi would buy Japanese objects from the shop of the French collector and dealer Siegfried Bing, enhance the

[58] William Walton, "Architecture" in *Exposition Universelle, 1900: The Chefs-d'Oeuvre*, vol. 10 (Philadelphia: George Barrie & Son, 1902), p. 70.

[59] Hayashi Tadamasa Symposium Committee, *Hayashi Tadamasa: japonisumu to bunka kōryū* 林忠正：ジャポニスムと文化交流/ *Hayashi Tadamasa: Japonisme and Cultural Exchanges* (Tōkyō: Hatsubaimoto Seiunsha, 2007), pp. 36-37.

value of such objects by contextualizing them with historical and stylistic information, and ultimately resell them, with accompanying commentary, at a higher cost, warranted by his expertise and seal of legitimacy, as it were.[60] A fascination with his "authenticity" fueled the legitimacy that Hayashi was granted and that he occasionally exploited; his power largely derived from having eliminated the barrier of language, as Hayashi was one of very few individuals able to translate Japanese signatures, inscriptions, and other documents into French. Hayashi's reciprocal interest in French art, especially in the fashionable Impressionist idiom not only influenced the development of new concepts of "art" in Japan,[61] but also connected, in Paris, French collectors of Japanese art with French artists who sought to better understand Japanese art. For example, Hayashi would sell Japanese objects and particularly pottery to the French artist Raphael Collin, who welcomed Japanese artists as apprentices, in exchange for Collin's oil paintings.[62]

In addition to the direct influence of Japanese dealers and collectors like Ninagawa and Hayashi, the writings of European and American collectors who traveled to, and lived in, Japan expanded knowledge about Japanese religions and literary traditions in France.

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[60] Akiko Mabuchi, "Introduction" in *L'Art Japonais*, by Louis Gonse (London: Ganesha; Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2003), vi. See also: Akiko Mabuchi, Brigitte Koyama-Richard et al, *Correspondance adressée à Hayashi Tadamasa* (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2001).

[61] Emiko Yamanashi, "Hayashi Tadamasa and the Establishment of the Concepts of 'bijutsu' and 'kōgei' in Japan" in *Hayashi Tadamasa: japonisumu to bunka kōryū* 林忠正：ジャポニスムと文化交流/ *Hayashi Tadamasa: Japonisme and Cultural Exchanges*, pp. 311-338.

[62] *Furansu kaiga to ukiyoe: tōzai bunka no kakehashi: Hayashi Tadamasa no me* フランス絵画と浮世絵:東西文化 の架け橋:林忠正の眼 ("French Painting and Ukiyo-e: Bridge between Eastern and Western Cultures: the Eye of Hayashi Tadamasa"), exh. cat. (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, c1996); Donald McCallum, "Japanese Painters in Paris, 1880-1912" in *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870-1914: Strangers in Paradise*, Karen Carter and Susan Waller, eds. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015).

To offer the prominent example of the art collector Emile Guimet (1836-1918), it is worth noting that Guimet learned about Japanese art, specifically about a limited number of painting techniques, from Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-1889) during Guimet's trip to Japan (1876);[63] Guimet mentioned his association with Kyōsai in Guimet's travelogue *Promenades japonaises* (1878)[64] and Louis Gonse cites Guimet's book to include Kyōsai in his survey book *L'art japonais* (1883).[65] Guimet traveled to Japan with the French artist Félix Régamey (1844-1907), who illustrated Guimet's 1878 travelogue and learned about Japanese painting from Kyōsai.[66] Disliked by Gonse, Kyōsai was a very interesting choice as the interface of Japanese painting, because, on the one hand, he worked within the confines of traditional mediums and genres (e.g. fan paintings, humorous drawings, shunga prints) and, on the other, innovated in numerous aspects of his practice (e.g. morphing East Asian and Western European allegorical traditions in a portrait that Kyōsai painted of the Italian adviser to the Japanese government, Edoardo Chiossone, in the guise of the Shiva-inspired Japanese deity Daikokuten[67]). As a highly original artist who used tradition to arrive at new aesthetic solutions, Kyōsai exemplified – for Guimet,

[63] Mortimer Menpes, transcribed by Dorothy Menpes, *Japan A Record in Colour* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1901), pp. 13-15.

[64] Emile Guimet, *Promenades Japonaises*, with illustrations by Felix Regamey (Paris: Charpentier, 1878).

[65] Louis Gonse, *L'art japonais* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1883), pp. 110, 135.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Donatella Failla, "The God of Wealth in Western Garb: Kawanabe Kyōsai's Portrait of Edoardo Chiossone as Daikokuten" in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2006, pp. 193-218. The irony of the portrait is primarily that of depicting Chiossone, the Italian designer of the first Japanese banknotes, as the Japanese god of wealth.

Régamey, and Gonse – the dynamic nature of Japanese painting, illustrating its plasticity and its tolerance for individual expression in multiple manners and materials.

Besides the disruptive quality of Kyōsai's work, which complemented the Hokusai style with which French audiences were more familiar, the knowledge that Guimet most powerfully brought to his contemporaries in Paris was an informed intuition on the connection between Japanese arts and religion. According to Gonse's aforementioned survey, Guimet had a sculptor in Kyoto reproduce a mandala that he had seen and wanted, buying and bringing the reproduction back to Paris for his collection.[68] The mandala is a replica of 23 statues of Buddhist deities in the Tōji 東寺 (Kyoto's "Eastern Temple"), for which he received permission of reproduction from the high priest of the temple (**Fig.24**).[69] It is worth noting that both Kyōsai and the sculpted replica are mentioned in Gonse's book, highlighting the two major contributions of Guimet to the internalization of "Japan" in late-nineteenth-century France. Of the two, Guimet is best remembered as the one who strived to understand and to educate about Japanese religion as reflected in material culture. After all, in 1876, Guimet made the long trip to Japan – via the Philadelphia World's Fair, Southern China, and India – with an official order from the French ministry of public instruction that appointed him to gather knowledge about East Asian religions.[70] Before he even got to Japan, Guimet had already learned that

[68] Gonse, *L'art japonais*, p. 154. Gonse describes the object as the representation of 19 Buddhist deities visually organized around the central image of Shakyamuni.

[69] Bernard Frank, *L'intérêt pour les religions japonaises dans la France du XIXe siècle et les collections d'Emile Guimet* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1986), p. 36.

[70] "Emile Guimet, fondateur du musée." http://www.guimet.fr/fr/musee-guimet/emile-guimet-fondateur-du-musee.

Buddhism was intertwined in the interregional history of East Asia and that such history was further complicated, in Japan, by the co-existence of Shinto and Meiji-era Westernization. The commissioned replica of the mandala, its sketched plan (as reproduced in the 1910 catalogue of Guimet's museum), and Guimet's descriptions of the original come together as both art and documentation and blur the line between aesthetic preferences and an interest in ethnography and the study of religion. Guimet would often mix different impulses in his acquisition and display of Japanese religious artifacts, presenting them as simultaneously art, historical document, and even object of worship.[71] The Japanese objects that Guimet brought to France and the multiple identities he assigned them emphasized, for French and European audiences, just how complex Japanese objects could be in religious meanings and transcultural references.

In addition to Japanese religion, other areas of active learning about Japan were notably in the literary sphere and specifically Japanese poetry. From linguists and japanologists like Leon de Rosny[72] and Basil Hall Chamberlain[73] to writers and lay ethnologists like

[71] Frank, *L'intérêt pour les religions japonaises dans la France du XIXe siècle et les collections d'Emile Guimet*, p. 34. In 1910, Guimet had a bouquet laid down at the base of a statue of Chujo, the princess who, according to tradition, wove the mandala of the Earth, aided by Kannon, the bodhisattva of compassion. Guimet created both a museum and a space for celebrating religious traditions, in ways similar to worship.

[72] Léon de Rosny (1837-1914) was the first professor of Japanese language at the École nationale des langues orientales vivantes/ "National School of Modern Oriental Languages." Rosny translated Japanese medieval poetry, the first two volumes of the classical *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀/ "Chronicles of Japan" (720 AD), and various Edo-period tales.

[73] Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) was a British scholar of Japanese language and literature who taught at Tokyo's Imperial Naval School and at Tokyo University. Chamberlain is best known for the first translation of the *Kojiki* 古事記/ "Records of Ancient Matters" (712 AD) in English (106). Chamberlain's writings, especially his book *Things Japanese* (first published 1890), were often cited in French books and journal articles in the 1900s and 1910s.

Mary Fraser (Mrs. Hugh Fraser),[74] a diverse group of writers introduced Japanese poetry and generally Japanese literature to a small French audience, to whom it became clear that the links between words and images were paramount in Japanese culture. Table 2 (see Appendices, A. Tables) lists some of the key texts of (and on) Japanese literature available in French in the second half of the nineteenth century. These texts were typically partial translations of Japanese classics, summaries of stories, descriptions of poems, and critical essays on links between Japanese religions and political history, on the one hand, and literature and the arts, on the other. Such texts acquainted readers with the Tale of Genji, the rivalry between the Taira and the Minamoto clans as depicted in the Tale of the Heike, Heian-period waka poetry, Edo-period illustrated popular fiction, and *jōruri* theater. As it was highlighted in multiple French texts in the late nineteenth-century (see Appert's, Guimet's, and Rosny's books in Table 2), French collectors and artists became increasingly aware of the interrelationships between literature and visual culture in Japan. Understanding the full extent to which French audiences knew of Japanese literary references is central to assessing intentionality with regard to japoniste projects. When French ceramists emulated Japanese decorative motifs evocative of medieval Japanese tales, did they understand the layers of meaning that those images carried? Awareness of these French sources on Japanese literature helps answer such questions. That said, it should be remembered that mistranslations and misinterpretations were nonetheless rather frequent. These early encounters with Japanese literature both

[74] Mary Fraser, the wife of the British diplomat Hugh Fraser, lived in Japan, where she collaborated with Eiko Theodora Ozaki (1871-1932), a British-Japanese translator of Japanese literary texts into English. Fraser's book, *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan: Letters from Home to Home* (1898), showed a nuanced understanding of Japanese literature. Fraser's work was known in some circles in France in the early twentieth century. See: Lorraine Sterry, *Victorian Women Travelers in Meiji Japan* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009), p. 108.

enhanced and hindered the advancement of knowledge, providing a tantalizing mix of accurate and inaccurate information.

In this context, one of the most reliable sources of knowledge was the very objects that French collectors featured in temporary and permanent displays. Table 3 (see Appendices, A. Tables) lists some of the key art objects in mediums other than ceramics that provided access to Japanese visual vocabulary in the second half of the nineteenth-century in France. Complemented by connoisseurial commentary and critical essays on Japanese history and literature, the Japanese paintings, prints, and ceramics in French collections became a reservoir of ideas and images ready to be comprehended and used.

Japanese ceramics occupied a privileged place in French collecting activities. Before engaging with individual collectors, I would like to draw attention to a parallel phenomenon of collecting "Japan" through ceramics that was taking place at a governmental level, especially in France, England, the Netherlands, and the United States. In 1875, the South Kensington Museum commissioned Sano Tsunetami (1822-1902), an influential Japanese politician in charge of the Japanese display at the 1876 Philadelphia World's Fair, to curate a collection of Japanese ceramics from different regions and time periods; the collection was shown at the fair and subsequently entered the permanent collections of the museum.[75] Another government official with a keen interest in Japanese crafts, Shioda Shin (1837-1917), prepared the report that accompanied the museum's purchase. The following year, both Sano Tsunetami and

[75] Augustus Franks, *Japanese pottery: being a native report with an introduction and catalog* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1880).

Shioda Shin were to become members of Ryūchikai 龍池会 / "Dragon's Pond Association" (est. 1879, renamed Japan Art Association, Nihon bijutsu kyōkai 日本美術協会 in 1887), an advocacy group for Japanese traditional arts. A collection like this one, curated by Japanese scholars with a vested interest in the Meiji government, was meant to de-emphasize individual tastes and to construct a microcosm of a foreign country (Japan), as filtered through one medium (ceramics). This type of publicly commissioned collection provided examples of different stylistic categories, educating the public about regional differences and allowing the museum to own a representative sample of Japanese ceramics. As Robert Rydell noted, such collections constituted a "cohesive explanatory blueprint" in which the notions of "nation" and "industrial art" were operative in the curatorial taxonomy and the museum's policy of acquisitions.[76]

A similar phenomenon was operative in France. Public collections of Japanese ceramics were integral to the multivocal effort to amass and curate France-based microcosms of cultures from around the world. This political rationale was combined with a scientific impulse to categorize and make sense of different ceramic traditions, techniques, and chronologies. Several private collections of Japanese art entered the two major French museums dedicated to ceramics, namely the Sèvres museum, inaugurated in 1824 by the influential ceramics producer and historian Alexandre Brongniart, and the Limoges museum, founded in 1845 by the government official Tiburce Morisot, the father of Impressionist painter Berthe Morisot. Emile Vial donated his collection to Sèvres; Adrien

[76] Robert Rydell, *All the World's Fairs: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 23.

Dubouché donated his collection as well as those of two other collectors, Albert Jacquemart and Paul Gasnault, to Limoges. In the cases of both Sèvres and Limoges, sites that were inextricably connected to longstanding traditions of ceramic production in France, private collectors offered their collections to newly opened national museums.

Private collections of Japanese ceramics had a significant impact on French tastes and japoniste projects. They were made available for viewing either by donation to public museums or by direct contact between the collectors and French artists and ceramic producers. What drew French collectors to Japanese art? As Richard Wilson noted about the American collector Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919), Freer's reasons for collecting Japanese art included an ethnographic interest, an understanding of Japanese artifacts as the material expression of an "earlier and higher culture;" and a desire for authenticity that led him to seek authored masterpieces.[77] Similar motivations drove collectors in France as well, fueled by a longstanding aesthetic and cultural interest in East Asian art, Ceramics, in particular, occupied a privileged position, given the hierarchical prominence of certain types of ceramics in Japan, on the one hand, and the French and Japanese interest in stimulating the "industrial arts," including ceramic production, on the other (as discussed in detail in Chapter 4).

Over 40 individuals formed important collections of Japanese ceramics in nineteenth-century France, amassing and displaying a wide range of ceramic objects, from stoneware to porcelain and from diverse eras and regions. Table 4 (see Appendices, A. Tables) lists

[77] Richard Wilson, *The Potter's Brush: The Kenzan Style in Japanese Ceramics* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 2001), pp. 33-34.

these collectors, indicating what they collected and major occasions on which their collections were featured in private and/ or public viewings. As detailed in Table 4, French collectors typically acquired tea ceremony ware (used in both chanoyu and sencha traditions) and Hizen (including Imari and Kakiemon) and Satsuma porcelain, produced either for domestic markets or for export. That said, a remarkable diversity of types entered most collections, from Mino and Seto ware to raku and Oribe ware to Kyoto ceramics. Most French collections of Japanese ceramics numbered from one hundred to a few hundred pieces and included a variety of objects such as bowls, plates, saucers, water jars, and incense boxes, with the notable exception of the collection of the French politician Georges Clemenceau, who collected over 4,000 objects and who focused primarily on one kind of ceramics, namely incense boxes.[78] Collectors bought the ceramics during trips to Japan, from European dealers and shops, and from sales of fellow collectors. As detailed in Table 4, selected contents of these collections became available to the French public in a variety of venues, including the shops and galleries of individual collectors (many of whom were also dealers), public museums that accepted donations from private collections, ceramics exhibition sections at World's Fairs, specialized exhibitions of Japanese ceramics curated collaboratively by several collectors, and public sales and auctions of partial or entire collections.

[78] *Exhibition of Kogo: Japanese Ceramic Incense Boxes from the George Clemenceau Collection* (Tokyo: The Asahi Shinbun, 1978).

Collecting Japanese ceramics in nineteenth-century France can be understood as intrinsic to at least two rationales[79] that often overlapped in the intentions of individual collectors. On the one hand, it was part of a larger drive to collect ceramics of a wide range of styles from different parts of the world in order to make sense of a global history of ceramics, one that could contribute to a better understanding of world culture (as seen in Table 4, Albert Jacquemart exemplifies the increasing interest in understanding ceramics critically and in a historical perspective, as his collection of ceramics included a mix of French, Persian, and Japanese items). On the other, collecting Japanese ceramics was integral to a desire to collect and comprehend "Japan" as a composite of diverse forms of textual, visual, and material expression (as seen in Table 4, Clémence d'Ennery, Edmond de Goncourt, and Emile Guimet, to name just a few, exemplify this goal, as they also collected other forms of Japanese material culture, from folding screens to netsuke.)

A surprising aspect of most nineteenth-century French collections of Japanese ceramics is that multiple collectors acquired relatively large quantities of earthenware and stoneware,

[79] François Raphaël Gonse and Imai Yuko, among others, have noted the increasing interest in collecting ceramics, especially after the start of diplomatic and trade relations between France and Japan. In a brief article (2004), Imai proposes the following categorization of such collections: firstly, collections whose purpose was the study of the history and techniques of Japanese ceramics; secondly, collections that privileged the taste of the collector; and thirdly, collections that focused on a certain type of ceramics. This taxonomy is also chronological, the first type corresponding to the 1850s-1860s, the second type to the 1870s-1880s, and the third, to the period after the mid-1880s. While the three criteria are of merit and illuminating, I think it is very difficult to make the case that collections can neatly fall under any one of these labels; rather, I think all collections presented a combination of the three aspects that Imai proposed, to various degrees. For example, Imai suggests that the collections of Goncourt, Gonse, and Haviland belong to the second category. I think that grouping collections as diverse as those of the aforementioned collectors under the umbrella of individual taste - namely, various approaches to a "refined exoticism" - is problematic for several reasons: individual taste plays a role in any collection; the desire to understand Japanese arts through the lens of ceramics was operative as intensely as personal taste; and, lastly, the extent to which availability, more than taste, dictated what the French collector saw and acquired cannot be stressed enough.

especially tea ceremony – chanoyu and/ or sencha – objects, while the expectation would be to see an almost exclusive focus on porcelain, considering the long history of the reception of Japanese porcelain in France. However, the collected non-porcelain ceramic objects entered collections that included many other types of Japanese art and belonged to individuals who acquired increasingly more nuanced knowledge about the variety of Japanese ceramics and the philosophical and socio-cultural underpinnings of Japanese ceramic production. Also, it has been argued that interest in highly decorated Japanese porcelain declined after 1880 in favor of more austere pottery, especially types associated with the tea ceremony;[80] this notion, I argue, is not quite accurate. The interest in porcelain never diminished in any considerable way, but the interest in other types of ceramics increased as more knowledge became available and was internalized by French collectors. Evidence of the continued interest in Japanese porcelain is the contemporaneous French production of japoniste ceramics that emulated the aesthetic principles and motifs of Japanese porcelain; furthermore, such French japoniste ceramics came to influence contemporaneous Japanese porcelain makers, who traveled to France and exhibited their products at World's Fairs (as discussed at length in Chapter 3). A process of fetishizing East Asian porcelain had begun in previous centuries (see the discussion, in Chapter 1, of the pre-1858 presence of Japanese porcelain in French and European aristocratic collection). This process only intensified as more information and more diverse objects became available. One telling example is the fascination of some French collectors with the eggshell-thin, almost translucent kind of porcelain known as

[80] Deborah Levitt-Pasturel, "Critical Response to Japan at the Paris 1878 Exposition Universelle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February 1992, pp. 68-79.

Hirado (produced near Arita and exported, after 1841, by the dealer Hisatomi Yojibei).[81] The interest of informed collectors like Dubouché for porcelain like the aforementioned Hirado object illustrates a deeply rooted quest for the essence of porcelain, understood as the elegant combination of sturdiness with almost transparent thinness. This quest encouraged an aesthetic and cultural attitude that was fundamentally oriented toward the medium of ceramics and toward porcelain as a sophisticated form thereof. This appreciation of porcelain was complemented by an interest in collecting ceramics that drew attention to their materiality and playfully evoked other materials (as exemplified and discussed in the following section of this chapter). Both interests – in porcelain as the epitome of strength and softness and in ceramics that display cross-material emulation - show that a passion for the materiality of ceramics was at the core of how "Japan" was collected in nineteenth-century France.

By number, availability, and diversity of subjects and motifs, ukiyo-e woodblock prints and Japanese compendia of monochrome prints represented the broadest and most robust source of knowledge and inspiration in Japanese art collecting and Japonisme; however, the impact of the flatness of ukiyo-e prints on Manet, Degas, and post-Impressionists like Gauguin[82] is largely due to how Japanese prints looked to French artists, trained in one-point perspective and shading. As is well known, the flatness and multiple perspectives of

[81] Imai, p. 107. In her overview of Adrien Dubouché's collection, Imai suggested that Dubouché might have purchased a Hirado object at the Paris World's Fair of 1867, where Hirado porcelain was reportedly very popular, and donated it, a year later, to the museum in Limoges.

[82] *Monumenta Nipponica: Studies on Japanese Culture, Past and Present*, vol. 48, 1993, p. 102; Colta Feller Ives, *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), p. 17.

Japanese woodblock prints are characteristic of the most often employed mode of representation in Japanese arts. The connection between ukiyo-e-inspired Western painting and the reign of flatness in later modernist art is predicated on the notion that artists like Manet and Degas "discovered" the self-referential aspect of Japanese prints, thereby deeming the concept a Western modernist product.[83] At odds with this Western-centric notion is the lesser-known impact of Japanese ceramics, especially porcelain, on japoniste Western art in multiple mediums. Unlike ukiyo-e prints, the self-referential aspect of Japanese ceramics was not a by-product of a system of representation, but a choice on the part of generations of ceramists who used their craft to reflect on the materiality and making of their objects. Thus understood, the meta-level that fueled modernist innovation was consciously present in the realm of ceramics in both French and Japanese contexts.

[83] Ives, *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints*; Shigemi Inaga, "The Making of Hokusai's Reputation in the Context of Japonisme," *Japan Review*, No. 15 (2003); Inaga Shigemi, "La Réinterprétation de la perspective linéaire au Japon (1740-1810) et son retour en France (1760-1910)," *Actes de la recherches en sciences sociales*, 49 (1983).

2.2. A Nexus of Antiquarian Practices: Mokubei in Cernuschi's Collection

Among the many Japanese objects acquired by the Italian-French politician, economist, and collector Henri Cernuschi – mentioned in the previous section –, one in particular stands out; as a source of information on Japanese value systems and a token of cross-cultural affinity, it influenced not only Cernuschi, but others as well, including French ceramists, painters, and critics. The object in question is a ceramic celadon-glazed bowl that emulates an ancient Chinese bronze (**Fig.25**); the vessel is attributed to Aoki Mokubei (1767-1833), a major figure in Japanese ceramics who was nonetheless little known in France. The featured presence of the Mokubei bowl in Cernuschi's collection suggests that, through a combination of intuition and limited knowledge, French collectors became aware of key aspects of Japanese cultural values, especially in relation to Chinese art, antiquarianism, and cross-cultural and cross-medial emulation.

A Fascination with the Material and a Keen Sense of History: The Collecting Activities of Henri Cernuschi (1821-1896)

To illuminate the ways in which this object informs us about Cernuschi, the japoniste world, and what was known about Japan, it is necessary to contextualize the Mokubei bowl in the entirety of Cernuschi's collection, which was premised on several national and medium-specific dichotomies.

Enrico Cernuschi, later known as Henri Cernuschi, was a multinational and multifaceted individual. He was born in Milan in 1821, at a time when Milan and Venice were the capitals of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, constituent part of the Austrian Empire. He was raised and educated in Italy, where he came of age and began his political career as a strong supporter of, and active participant in, the Italian Risorgimento.[84] Banned from Italy after the 1848 Revolution, he moved to France, where he became Henri Cernuschi, continuing his political career and further developing his work in economics, social research, and international diplomacy. He traveled to India, East Asia, and the United States, as a collector and a scholar.[85] Through all of these experiences and more, Cernuschi was able to develop a global worldview, a nuanced sociocultural perspective on inter-ethnic and inter-national relationships, and a keen sense of the dynamic interplay between history and contemporaneous events.

Cernuschi had always been passionately involved in the politics of his time, both in his native Italy and in France. His trip to Japan and the beginning of his collecting activity are intimately connected to Cernuschi's relationship with French politics in the early 1870s. The year 1871 was marked by the Paris Commune, a major and violent anti-government insurrection that occurred in the aftermath of the collapse of the Second Empire and the French defeat in the Franco-German war. In the years leading to the Commune, Cernuschi had amassed great wealth as a banker and great disillusionment as an ardent Republican. However, as Signori, Marquet, and others have noted, Cernuschi

[84] Nino Del Bianco, *Enrico Cernuschi: uno straordinario protagonista del nostro Risorgimento* (Milano: Franco Angeli Edizioni – Storia, 2006).

[85] Ibid.

was not fully in support of the anti-government Commune party and was deeply affected by the execution of his friend, Gustave Chaudey, the editor-in-chief of the journal *Siècle*, where Cernuschi had published articles exposing his views.[86] According to his first biographer, Cernuschi was encouraged to distance himself from the Parisian political climate and followed the advice by undertaking a trip to East Asia with the political commentator and art critic Theodore Duret, best known for his writings on the Impressionists.[87] After the Commune, Cernuschi and Duret left for a trip to Japan, China, India, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia. Upon their return in 1873, the objects they collected were curated and displayed at the Palais de l'Industrie. A year later, Duret published an account of their trip – *Voyage en Asie* – that offers insight into their collecting activity.

Cernuschi's collection was one that highlighted relationships among objects, especially ones that brought together different times (e.g. ancient pieces and modern pieces) and different geocultural spaces (e.g. Japanese art emulating Chinese art or Japanese art emulating European art). Numbering thousands of Chinese and Japanese objects in bronze, stoneware, porcelain, lacquer, and wood, among other materials, the collection included Chinese bronzes imitating older Chinese bronzes, Chinese ceramics imitating Chinese bronzes, and Japanese ceramics imitating Chinese ceramics imitating, in turn, Chinese bronzes. As Maucuer and others have noted, Cernuschi was sensitive to cross-cultural and cross-temporal influences, as manifested in the objects he collected, and was

[86] Christophe Marquet, "Le Japon de 1871 vu par Henri Cernuschi et Théodore Duret," in *Ebisu* 19, 1998, p. 45.

[87] Giuseppe Leti, *Henri Cernuschi. Patriote, financier, philanthrope, apôtre du bimétallisme. Sa vie, sa doctrine, ses oeuvres* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1936), p. 181.

interested in understanding those aspects of Japanese art that invited external influences.[88] Maucuer described those aspects as "modern."[89] Indeed, Cernuschi was seeking art that was modern in its pluralism. Moreover, that Cernuschi invested in this type of objects all while seeking to own artifacts that construed an East Asian canon of antiquity was in and of itself heterogeneous. Premised on a search for both culturally diverse and culture-specific objects, Cernuschi's collecting style required that the rationale of the collection be crystallized and adjusted as the collection itself was formed. Thus understood, it is not only that essential features of the Japanese art in the collection can be considered modern; it is that the collection itself and its formation are modern in the Habermasian sense: "Modernity can and will no longer borrow the criteria by which it takes its orientation from the models supplied by another epoch; it has to create its normativity out of itself."[90] The modern character of Cernuschi's East Asian collection was manifest at many levels: it reflected the values and interests of someone who was strongly rooted both in the present and in the past; it sought and celebrated aesthetic expressions of cross-medial, cross-temporal, and cross-cultural relationships; and it questioned and revised its identity as more objects became part of it, in response to different impulses and strategies.

To what he had acquired in China and in Japan during his trip with Duret, Cernuschi kept adding by means of purchases from other European collectors and dealers. That practice

[88] Michel Maucuer, "Une vision du Japon: les collections japonaises d'Henri Cernuschi", p. 97.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), p. 7.

was common among French collectors of East Asian art. In fact, very few ceramics in Cernuschi's collection were acquired during Cernuschi's and Duret's trip to Japan. Cernuschi purchased the majority of his ceramics after his return to France, in 1875, from Ferdinando Meazza (1838-1913),[91] an Italian dealer and silkworm breeder from Milan who had amassed his collection of ceramics in Japan.[92] Cernuschi's focus on Japanese ceramics occurred after he had matured as a collector and the cross-cultural and cross-medial theme of his collection had become clear not only to him, but also to others who saw his East Asian purchases at the Palais de l'Industrie.

As Chang and others noted, Cernuschi started by collecting haphazardly, but, while in Japan, decided to focus on bronze.[93] Cernuschi's decision to actively collect bronzes in Japan was motivated by a sense of having found a "niche" in collecting Japanese art: the medium was not yet widely represented in French and other non-Japanese collections.[94] Marquet called this business decision, especially as depicted by Duret in *Voyage en Asie*, as a "pragmatic" choice.[95] Duret's text serves as a reminder that the connection between bronze and ceramics is inseparable from Cernuschi's awareness of his collection's multiple types of value, ranging from economic to aesthetic.

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[91] Philippe Burty, "La Poterie au Japon," *Le Japon artistique*, vol. II, no. 17, 1889, p. 55.

[92] Claudio Zanier, *Semai: setaioli italiani in Giappone (1861-1880): interpretare e comunicare senza tradurre* (Padova: CLEUP, 2006), p. 253.

[93] Ting Chang, *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), p. 47.

[94] Duret confessed that he and Cernuschi found the bronzes to be "une veine à exploiter"/ "a goldmine to dig" (Duret, *Voyage en Asie*, Paris: Levy, 1874, p. 21).

[95] Marquet, "Le Japon de 1871 vu par Henri Cernuschi et Théodore Duret," p. 54.

Another motivation for Cernuschi's initial focus on bronze was his awareness of the political dimension of metals. As an advocate of bimetallism and an internationally renowned expert on the subject, Cernuschi argued for finding a balance between gold and silver. In nineteenth-century France, metal as currency was tinted with geopolitical significance: gold was associated with Europe and silver was associated with Asia.[96] In China, bimetallism was based upon bronze and copper.[97] Cernuschi's focus on collecting ancient bronzes gains a new dimension in this light: cross-cultural exchange was literally and symbolically an exchange of metals. The proponents of bimetallism, Cernuschi included, believed that bimetallism was a solution that drew on the monetary reforms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and that could successfully address the liquidity problems brought about by international economic development.[98] Its opponents took issue with bimetallism for both economic and political reasons and notably engaged with the political hierarchy of metals – gold and silver for Europe and the United States and other metals for the rest of the world – in many ways, ranging from decrying the unfair nature of such hierarchies to worrying that the hierarchies were too lax and threatened.[99]

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[96] Chang, *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, p. 40.

[97] Ulrich Theobald, "Introduction," *Money in Asia (1200 – 1900): Small Currencies in Social and Political Contexts* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 3-4.

[98] Francesca Dal Degan, Pier Luigi Porta, "Moneta e banca negli scritti di Enrico Cernuschi" in *Enrico Cernuschi (1821-1896): milanese e cosmopolita: politica, economia e collezionismo in un protagonista del Risorgimento: atti della giornata di studi, Milano, 19 giugno 2003*, Giuseppe Bognetti, Angelo Moioli, eds. (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2004), p. 25.

[99] A sample of international primary sources that expose or describe such views: "Discours de M. Pierson," in *Conférence Monétaire Internationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1881), 218-220; "Blunders of British Bimetallists," *California Banker's Magazine: Commercial and Real Estate Review*, James Willway Treadwell, ed., vol. 9-10, Aug. 1894, 245-266; Robert Giffen, *The Case Against Bimetallism* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1895).

Cernuschi was aware of these conflicting views and, while clearly in support of bimetallism, recognized the need for dialogue and discussed the topic through the lens of international diplomacy. His publications – especially *Mécanique de l'Echange*, published in Paris as early as 1865, and *Monetary Diplomacy in 1878*, published in London in 1878 – attest to his nuanced approach that brought together historical perspective and material value. The motto that Cernuschi used for *Mécanique de l'Echange,* drawn from Leibniz, describes the philosopher's choice for balancing two complementary approaches to science: one focused on "big picture" theoretical considerations, the other upon details and case studies.[100] Indeed, balance appears to be a governing principle of Cernuschi's intellectual, financial, and cultural activities, as evidenced by several operative binaries: Italy and France, China and Japan, economy and politics, gold and silver, copper and bronze, ancient and modern. As we will soon see, Japanese ceramics – and particularly Mokubei's bowl – appear to have represented, for Cernuschi, the embodiment of such balance between the old and the new, between two neighboring cultures, and between seemingly incongruent materials.

A major balancing exercise that influenced Cernuschi's collecting activity was the nexus of his political and financial career rooted in contemporaneous realities, on the one hand, and his antiquarian interests and practices, on the other. Cernuschi appreciated objects as tokens of the past and, in collecting them, attempted to study them and to establish coherent taxonomies. In France, Cernuschi had a famous predecessor, Louis XV's minister Henri Léonard Jean Baptiste Bertin (1720-1792), whose collecting of Chinese

[100] Henri Cernuschi, *Mécanique de l'Echange* (Paris, A. Lacriox, Verboeckhoven et Cie, 1865), cover page.

bronzes, Chinese ceramic imitations of Chinese bronzes, and two-dimensional images of both were instrumental in the early modern French understanding of Chinese antiquity and its status at the Qing court.[101] Popularized by historians like Henri Cordier (1849-1925),[102] Bertin's antiquarianism was a salient model for later collectors like Cernuschi. Also, Cernuschi and fellow collectors were not unlike Edo-era and Meiji-era Japanese literati who wore many hats as antiquarians, scholars, collectors, artists, and critics. As Suzuki noted with regard to Ninagawa Noritane, the "vital aspects" of Japanese antiquarianism included collecting, studying objects, releasing picture books depicting objects from the collection, and cultivating friendships and collaborations with fellow antiquarians.[103] While Cernuschi did not have a relationship with a Japanese antiquarian like Ninagawa (as Morse and Bing did), he nonetheless understood the cross-cultural affinity of antiquarian practices, especially since his travel companion, Duret, had collected Japanese picture books that attest to this common practice.[104] By collecting

[101] Bertin is a key figure in understanding the formal and informal ties between the French and the Chinese courts in the eighteenth century. See: Jacques Silvestre de Sacy, with Michel Antoine, *Henri Bertin dans le sillage de la Chine, 1720-1792* (Paris: Éditions Cathasia, les Belles Lettres, 1970). Also: Stefan Gaarsmand Jacobsen, "Chinese Influences or Images? Fluctuating Histories of How Enlightenment Europe Read China" in *Journal of World History*, vol. 24, no. 3, 2013. Most recently, Kee Il Choi Jr. has argued that Bertin was also instrumental in bridging the Greco-Roman "antique" canon of the Western world, via his emulation of Hamilton's vases catalogue, and the "ancient" artifacts of China (Ph.D. dissertation in progress, Leiden University).

[102] Henri Cordier, *Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales* (Paris: Maisonneuve & fils, 1914-23); H. Cordier, *Les correspondants de Bertin, secrétaire d'état au XVIIIe siècle* (Leiden: Brill, 1922).

[103] Hiroyuki Suzuki, "Ninagawa Noritane and Antiquarians in the Early Meiji Period" in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, A. Schnapp, ed. (Los Angeles: Getty, 2014), p. 409.

[104] Duret donated his collection of Japanese books to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. *Livres & albums illustrés du Japon réunis et catalogués par Théodore Duret* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1900).

bronzes and ceramics from China and Japan, Cernuschi's practice of antiquarianism nourished his desire to bring together history and materiality.

Cernuschi's engagement with bronze happened at two levels: the economic case for bimetallism and the early collecting focus on Chinese bronzes. In her study of Cernuschi's collecting of East Asian bronzes, Ting Chang developed a nuanced analogy between his support of bimetallism and his collecting as well as between the gold-silver and East-West hierarchical relationships, concluding that bimetallism enabled Cernuschi to grasp not only the symbolic value of art, but also its value as currency.[105] Building on this idea, I argue that the presence, in Cernuschi's collection, of a Japanese ceramic bowl imitating an ancient Chinese bronze illustrates and helps substantiate Cernuschi's awareness of the symbolic equivalency not only of metals, but of materials more generally, informed by his interest in cross-cultural antiquarianism. Moreover, I suggest that ceramics, more than any other material, brought together the binaries that dominated Cernuschi's thinking, as outlined above, because of this medium's malleability and suitability for cross-medial and cross-cultural emulation. As discussed in the remainder of this section, Cernuschi was aware of Mokubei's authorship of the object in his collection and of essential biographical data. Mokubei thought of bronze in political terms, too. According to some historical sources, Mokubei knew how to cast bronze and even fabricated faux ancient coins.[106] In that, Mokubei and Cernuschi shared similar interests, albeit expressed differently. However, this bowl – made by Mokubei and purchased by

[105] Chang, "Gold, Silver, and Bronze: Cernuschi's Collection and Reappraisals of Europe and Asia," *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris* 50, pp. 61-62.

[106] Michel Maucuer, "Kyoto Ceramics of the Late Edo Period in the Henri Cernuschi Collection" in *Orientations* (August 1992), p. 38.

Cernuschi – reflects and comments on the diverse types of value of bronze through an approximation in stoneware. I suggest that this vessel, for both Mokubei and Cernuschi, provided a fragile and versatile alternative to this battle of metals.

Bronze and Ceramics, China and Japan: Cernuschi's Mokubei

Can we know with certainty that it was the Japanese ceramist Aoki Mokubei who made this bowl? How did Cernuschi know that? And how well was Mokubei known and understood among nineteenth-century French collectors? Let us answer each question in turn. The vessel bears the seal of Mokubei on the base; that informs us that it was produced either by Mokubei or by a follower who appropriated Mokubei's signature.[107] Unfortunately, the Cernuschi Museum, where the object is kept together with the rest of Cernuschi's collection, inherited the object without its box, which might have contained more information regarding its maker and provenance.[108] It is unclear whether Cernuschi acquired the object without the box or the box was lost at some point after it had entered his collection. Michel Maucuer, former curator of ceramics at the Cernuschi Museum, believes that the attribution is accurate, based on formal and historiographical analysis[109]

[107] Such practice was not uncommon. In a study of ceramics by Ogata Kenzan and followers in the Freer Gallery, Richard Wilson has shown that ceramics designated "Kenzan" are not only those directly produced by Ogata Kenzan, but also those produced by others who emulated Kenzan and, in the process, developed a tradition under the umbrella of Kenzan's name. Thus understood, ceramics known as "Kenzan" refer not to the historic figure, but to a "comparative construct" and a "creative matrix" (R. Wilson, *The Potter's Brush: The Kenzan Style in Japanese Ceramics*, Washington: Freer, 2001, 17). This argument can be made for a number of other influential names in Japanese ceramics, including Mokubei.

[108] Personal communication with Michel Maucuer (curator at the Guimet Museum, formerly curator at the Cernuschi Museum), Paris, October 2016.

[109] Ibid.

(some of which will be presented below). For Cernuschi, the Mokubei seal on the object was a clear indication of authorship. While it is not exactly known how Cernuschi was able to read the seal, a couple of possibilities come to mind: he could have received an explanation of the seal at the time of purchase or he could have learned about it from a number of sources available in France, including the French translations of Ninagawa's *Kanko zusetsu* (vol. V, pp. 2-3).

Mokubei was very little known in France as compared to Hokusai, in the realm of prints, or Kenzan, in the realm of ceramics; nonetheless, some collectors and their circles were doubtlessly aware of his name, some biographical information, and some general characteristics of his style and activity. Cernuschi's object and the mentions of Mokubei in Ninagawa's book were not the only sources. Other French collectors had objects attributed to Mokubei, including Pierre Barboutau, Siegfried Bing, Hayashi Tadamasa, Alphonse Hirsch, and Georges Petit (see Table 4 in the previous section). A special case among French collectors who owned Mokubei or Mokubei-style ceramics is Edmond de Goncourt, whose collection included a celadon tea bowl (**Fig.26**) that Goncourt and presumably Bing identified as Korean,[110] but which has since been re-attributed to the Japanese ceramist Aoki Mokubei.[111] This tea bowl stands apart from the other Mokubei or Mokubei-style ceramics in the possession of nineteenth-century French collectors,

[110] *Collection des Goncourt: Arts de l'Extrême-Orient, Objets d'Art Japonais et Chinois, peintures, estampes composant la Collection des Goncourt* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1897), no. 164.

[111] "Full Object Report" for object no. F1897.11, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, accessed on November 19, 2015, 1. From Goncourt the object passed on to Bing, then to the American Charles Lang Freer, and ultimately entered the collection of the Freer Gallery; while in the museum, the object knew many reattributions during the twentieth-century, including Chinese, Seto ware, and the workshop of Mokubei.

because Goncourt believed it to be Korean, but it is closer to the bowl in Cernuschi's collection than most other Mokubei or Mokubei-style ceramics in late nineteenth-century Paris. The main similarities are the use of celadon glaze and the emulation of specific types of Chinese artifacts that constituted slivers of Chinese culture available in Edo-period Japan. Specifically, according to Freer Gallery curator Louise Cort, the bowl formerly in the Goncourt collection imitates Ming-dynasty *ningyode*/ "doll type" celadon bowls, often used as cake dishes.[112] Also, it was probably used for sencha (steeped tea) gatherings in Japan and it presents the yellowish/ olive-green celadon glaze typical of Mokubei[113] – both characteristics that it shares with the bowl in Cernuschi's collection. Why, then, was the Goncourt-collection object misattributed? Firstly, the bowl did not bear the Mokubei seal that the vessel in Cernuschi's possession had; secondly, objects circulated from one collection to the other along with descriptions and attributions and Goncourt may have inherited the information that the object was Korean when he purchased it; lastly, Korean ware was associated, in japoniste circles, with stoneware and specifically celadon ware, due to a number of collections and exhibitions in late nineteenth-century Paris, notably the display of Korean ceramics organized by Wakai Kanesaburō for the 1878 World's Fair (see Table 4 in the previous section).

The Mokubei-attributed object in Barboutau's collection, too, was similar to the one in Cernuschi's collection in its emulation of Chinese artifacts. According to a 1905 publication by Barboutau in which he compiles biographies of some of the Japanese

[112] "Full Object Report," object no. F1897.11, Freer Gallery of Art, 9.

[113] Ibid.

artists and schools represented in his collection, the object in question was a teapot and said to imitate Chinese porcelain (**Fig.27**).[114] Barboutau's Mokubei-attributed teapot served as a reminder that Mokubei emulated both Chinese ancient bronzes and Chinese porcelain that imitated Chinese bronzes, raising the question – for both Barboutau and Cernuschi pieces – of whether they were modeled on porcelain or on bronze. The description of the Barboutau piece as imitating porcelain also emphasized the complex layering of cross-medial references in objects by – or associated with – Mokubei. What is the difference, if any, between ceramics that emulate another material directly and ceramics that channel other ceramics that were produced in imitation of another material? Objects like the ones in Barboutau's and Cernuschi's collections drew attention to such questions, inviting a reflection on mediums and processes. For Cernuschi, that kind of reflection was central to his identity as a thinker and as a collector and found its perfect expression in this complex artifact.

Mokubei's bowl materializes its raison d'être in that its appearance immediately calls to mind an antique Chinese Gui vessel. But the ceramic object is a spectral version of its ideal bronze model. A thick translucent glaze hugs the shape of this vessel and fills the creases dug into its surface. Perhaps Mokubei's familiarity with other ceramic renditions contributed to this ambiguous aesthetic that morphs qualities associated with ceramics and bronze, respectively. The object doubtlessly builds on a tradition of Japanese objects that emulate other materials or take the shape of other objects. Examples include objects in the shape of plants, birds, and animals, like this incense box in the form of a bird

[114] Pierre Barboutau, *Peintures - Estampes et Objets d'art du Japon. Collection Pierre Barboutau. Catalogue du vente* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1904), cat. no. 904, p. 71.

(**Fig.28**), objects in the shape of other objects, like this water vessel in the form of a bell (**Fig.29**), objects of one material imitating another material, such as this inro case whose decoration mimics the fabric of a kimono (**Fig.30**), objects emulating things of the past, like this modern shakudo[115] model of a Heian-period court carriage (**Fig.31**), and objects of one culture evoking another culture, such as this Japanese tray that imitates Chinese Ming ware (**Fig.32**). Within this tradition, Mokubei's object presents its own set of references. Three types of emulation define it: firstly, the ceramic medium evokes bronze; secondly, the object appropriates a Chinese model to a Japanese framework; and thirdly, the nineteenth-century vessel reflects the historicist tendency to emulate antique shapes, textures, and motifs.

Hard edges, well-defined shapes, and intricate detail characterize the Gui bronze vessel type, of which Cernuschi was well aware, as evidenced by the numerous examples in his collection (**Fig.33**). These features are made possible by the material properties of bronze and by the casting process. Mokubei's version transforms these attributes in ways that are medium-specific. The ceramic surface of the Japanese bowl retains only the most conspicuous visual information from its conceptual model, as if the medium itself selected what to keep and what to discard from what was emulated. The celadon glaze, in particular, covers the shape of the object with a seemingly thick glassy coating, as if the bronze model were hidden just underneath the surface.

[115] Alloy of gold and copper.

This translation of the aesthetic of the bronze into that of ceramics through the mediation of celadon glazes was a relatively new phenomenon in Japan and a centuries-old one in China. If, in the late eighteenth century, Mokubei was one of the first Japanese potters to work with celadon,[116] in China, the use of celadon dates back to the fourth century, when stoneware with olive-brown glazes began to be produced.[117] Because the color of celadon evoked the patina of ancient bronzes, Chinese celadon vessels came to substitute bronze objects for both ritualistic and everyday purposes.[118] It was not only celadon ware, but also white porcelain and cloisonné that were used to imitate bronze vessels in China, dating back to the Southern Song (1127-1279) and Yuan (1271-1368) dynasties. As Maucuer reminds us, the phenomenon of imitating antique artifacts in any medium is even older than the Song imitation of ancient bronzes in ceramics, harkening back to the Five Dynasties period (907-960), when artisans produced mirrors in imitation of the mirrors of the Warring States period (481-221 B.C.).[119] Ceramic versions of bronze vessels continued to be made in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and proliferated during the Qing dynasty (1644-1912).[120] The Qianlong emperor, one of the longest-reigning rulers of the Qing dynasty, was an avid antiquarian and collector of objects in one medium that imitated objects of the past in other mediums. As Craig Clunas has shown,

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[116] Michel Maucuer, "Kyoto Ceramics of the Late Edo Period in the Henri Cernuschi Collection" in *Orientations* (August 1992), p. 38.

[117] Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1984), pp. 112-113.

[118] Arthur Hart Burling, Judith Burling, *Chinese Art* (Studio Publications, 1953), p. 136.

[119] Michel Maucuer, "Bronzes chinois antiques et archaïsants dans la collection Cernuschi," *Arts asiatiques*, vol. 53, 1998, p. 43. Also: Wu Hung, ed., *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (Chicago, IL: Center for the Art of East Asia, Dept. of Art History, University of Chicago: Art Media Resources, c2010).

[120] Brian Matthews Fahy, "Let the Porcelain Talk: The Social Life of Blue and White Porcelain in Asia during the Yuan and Early Ming Dynasties." PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 2010.

particularly in relation to Ming China, "within this world of goods, things of the past, things believed to be of the past and things believed to invoke the past by their sheer physical configuration, occupied a special role."[121] Celadon ware, in particular, exemplified this cross-medial fascination with the past that characterized Chinese culture across the centuries.

Why would the Japanese artist Aoki Mokubei be interested in this enduring aspect of Chinese culture? The Japan of Mokubei's time saw a renewed interest in China and particularly in the Chinese preoccupation with the past. As a painter and a ceramist, Mokubei embraced and fueled the Edo-period fascination with China. He may have been best acquainted with the contemporaneous Qing-dynasty interpretations of the aesthetic of ceramic emulations of bronze, given that he is known to have studied (and translated) the *Tao Shuo* or *Tōsetsu* 陶説/ "Description of Chinese pottery and porcelain," a six-volume textbook on Chinese ceramics published in China in 1774.[122] Mokubei's interest in China was not restricted to ceramics. Studying under Kou Fuyou (1722-1784), an influential scholar specializing in Chinese studies, Mokubei developed an interest in other tokens of China's past as well, including bronze vessels and coins, which he conceptualized as material evidence for "the prosperity and decline of governments."[123]

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[121] Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), p. 93.

[122] Nakagawa Sensaku, *Kutani Ware* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1979), vol. 7, p. 105.

[123] Michel Maucuer, "Kyoto Ceramics of the Late Edo Period in the Henri Cernuschi Collection" in *Orientations* (August 1992), p. 38. We know of how Mokubei thought about Chinese bronzes as tokens of the past from what he wrote for a publication prepared in honor of Matsudaira Noriyoshi, the lord of Okutono, in 1820.

The affinity between Mokubei's thinking and Cernuschi's interests and activities, less than a century later in France, is striking. Mokubei's engagement with the aesthetics and politics of bronze goes even further. It is generally believed that, when Mokubei was forced to move to Ise, possibly because of bankruptcy, he counterfeited old coins and made copies of ancient Chinese bronzes.[124] The interest in the materiality of currency is, again, a strong link between Mokubei and Cernuschi. The French collector may have been made aware of it, either when he purchased the bowl or during subsequent conversations with Gonse and/ or Hayashi, both of whom had access to more information on Edo-period Kyoto ceramics.[125] How did Mokubei's activity in bronze casting affect his ceramic work that emulated bronze vessels? On the one hand, the experience of making a bronze vessel must have led to a more intimate understanding of the bronze object as model. On the other, it raises, today, questions about authenticity and hierarchies of different types of copies. Was – and is – a bronze copy of a Chinese bronze merely a copy? And why is it somehow easier to conceptualize a ceramic copy of a Chinese bronze as an "original" expression grounded in cross-cultural and cross-medial translation? Perhaps imitation performed in a different material confers an additional layer of meaning – easily translatable to originality or merit – to the "copy" in that it more conspicuously invites a reflection on the making of the object and the possibilities and limitations of mediums.

[124] Maucuer, "Kyoto Ceramics of the Late Edo Period in the Henri Cernuschi Collection," p. 38.

[125] While there is no direct evidence that Cernuschi talked with Gonse or Hayashi about Mokubei, it is known that both Gonse and Hayashi frequented Cernuschi's home and attended social events at his mansion, where his collection was on display. For more information on their social interactions: Christopher Reed, *Bachelor Japanists* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2016).

Mokubei's teacher in the medium of ceramics was Okuda Eisen (1753-1811), according to the diary of his "close associate," Kimura Chikuden (1771-1831), a painter in the bunjinga (literally: "literati painting") school.[126] Both Eisen and Mokubei produced ceramic vessels that emulated Chinese bronzes.[127] Also, both potters created objects for the emergent culture of sencha (steeped tea) drinking, practiced by literati artists and scholars in late eighteenth-century Japan and regarded as a foil to the older chanoyu, the ceremonial practice based on powdered tea. The custom of preparing and drinking sencha bore strong associations with China, where it became popular among Ming-dynasty literati.[128] Deemed to be luxurious markers of social status, Chinese export objects, known as karamono, had been associated with the chanoyu practice for centuries. The emergent sencha culture was increasingly embraced by the rising merchant elite as a form of social legitimation; delineating it from chanoyu were several disparities pertaining to belief systems and aesthetic taste (e.g. sencha practitioners would also engage with Confucianism and Daoism in addition to Zen Buddhism; sencha practitioners would also showcase later Chinese objects, dating from the Ming and Qing dynasties, besides earlier objects from the Song and Yuan objects that chanoyu gatherings privileged).[129] The

[126] Maucuer, "Kyoto Ceramics of the Late Edo Period in the Henri Cernuschi Collection," p. 37. Prior to Eisen and Mokubei, Kyoto ware was best known for the stoneware with overglaze enamel produced by several potters and workshops, notably Nonomura Ninsei (act. 1648-1690) and Ogata Kenzan (1663-1743), the latter of whom presumably studied with Ninsei and emulated his ceramics. At a time when the literati and sencha culture was emergent in Edo-period Japan, Eisen was the first Kyoto potter to devote his practice to porcelain.

[127] Maucuer, "Kyoto Ceramics of the Late Edo Period in the Henri Cernuschi Collection," p. 38.

[128] Murase Miyeko, *Japanese Art: Selections from the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection* (NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), p. 273.

[129] Patricia Graham, "Karamono for Sencha: Transformations in the Taste for Chinese Art" in *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice*, Morgan Pitelka, ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2003), p. 111.

subject matter, composition, and brushwork of this fan painting by Mokubei depicting a sencha gathering illustrate his affiliation with the Edo-period bunjinga painting school that emulated Chinese literati artists (**Fig.34**). Mokubei was one of several Kyoto-based potters who were associated with the Zen Obaku priest Baisaō Kō Yūgai (1675-1763), an influential advocate of sencha whose collection of Chinese objects, notably porcelain, Mokubei emulated in his production of ceramics for sencha gatherings.[130] Baisaō, who had chosen to become a wandering tea seller on the streets of Kyoto, represented a nexus for Kyoto-based intellectuals, painters, and potters who contributed actively to the construction of an imaginary China as reference point for sencha culture.

In his engagement with karamono during that period of sociocultural change, Mokubei refashioned, for sencha patrons and gatherings, some of the Chinese and Chinese-style objects that were popular in chanoyu circles.[131] These objects were predominantly Chinese bronzes and celadon vessels. It is likely that the bowl in Cernuschi's collection was one such interpretation of a Chinese bronze or a Chinese celadon vessel imitating an older bronze vessel. Mokubei's bowl in Cernuschi's collection may have played a role in two major sociocultural transformations: the emergence of sencha culture in Edo-period Kyoto and, less than a century later, the emergence of a new understanding of ceramics and of art, fueled by contact with Japanese aesthetics, in late nineteenth-century Paris.

[130] Patricia Graham, "Karamono for Sencha," p. 115.

[131] Patricia Graham, "Karamono for Sencha," p. 117.

Probably made and used for sencha gatherings, Mokubei's bowl borrowed the shape of a Chinese antique vessel and adapted it for the Japanese social practice of tea drinking. As Wu Hung, Martin Powers, and others have shown, repurposing was also common in China in the production of new versions of things of the past.[132] But repurposing affects the archaizing aspect of the object. How did the interplay of repurposing and archaizing shape the aesthetic and social identity of Mokubei's bowl? The shape of the bowl and the decoration on its body correspond to the Eastern Zhou Gui type of bronze vessel that Mokubei could have seen in the eighth volume of the Chinese imperial anthology Bogutulu from ca. 1092 AD (**Fig.35**).[133] However, as noted by Michael Maucuer, the lingzhi mushroom design on the base of the bowl dates from a different period in Chinese history and is thereby anachronistic.[134] In 1804, Mokubei wrote that he was interested in ancient objects because they testified to the heyday and the decline of successive political eras; in that same year, he published a Japanese edition of the 1774 *Tao Shuo*, the first Chinese book entirely dedicated to ceramics.[135] This motivation, filtered through material culture and specifically the ceramic medium, encouraged Mokubei to combine references from different historical periods and thereby to create archaizing art that did not conform fully to a historicist model.

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[132] Wu Hung, ed., *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (Chicago, IL: Center for the Art of East Asia, Dept. of Art History, University of Chicago: Art Media Resources, c2010). Also, Martin Power's and Vivian Li's essays in *Theorizing Imitation in the Visual Arts: Global Contexts*, Paul Duro, ed. (West Sussex, UK; Malden, MA, USA: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2015).

[133] Gilles Béguin, Michel Maucuer, Hélène Chollet, eds., *Arts de l'Asie au Musée Cernuschi* (Paris: Paris Musées, 2000), p. 182.

[134] Michel Maucuer, museum label, Cernuschi Museum, retrieved: February 2015.

[135] Ibid. Also: *Japanese Art: Selections from the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection,* Miyeko Murase, ed. (NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), pp. 273-275.

In France, in the late nineteenth century, Cernuschi, too, tried to grasp the complex cross-cultural and cross-temporal connections that define the fabric of history, through his political career and collecting activity. According to the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, things have a social life.[136] When Cernuschi came along into the trajectory of Mokubei's vessel, the object could not have responded more fully to the interests of the collector. The types of emulation that characterize the object mirror the collector's socio-political views. For Cernuschi, Mokubei's bronze-mimicking ceramic vessel fueled his collecting interest in objects that bridged bronze and ceramics and China and Japan.

Robert Finlay's recent study of porcelain sheds light on the strength and permanence of porcelain, on the one hand, considering the firing process and the endurance of porcelain over the centuries, and the delicate and breakable character of porcelain, on the other hand, to which piles of historical breakage testify.[137] Like porcelain, stoneware – the material of Mokubei's vessel – is hard and non-porous. The celadon glaze adds a spectral quality. Mokubei does not emulate an actual object, but a cultural construct – an imaginary China of the past that is equally strong and fragile, like the medium of the piece that invokes it. Cernuschi understood the tensions at play in this object's rendering of a vaguely antique Chinese artifact. The antiquarianism of the French collector met the archaizing mind of the Japanese artist. The presence of Mokubei's object in Cernuschi's

[136] Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[137] Robert Finlay, *Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

collection points to multiple cross-cultural parallels: Cernuschi not only knew of the eleventh-century imperial anthology Bogutulu that informed Mokubei's emulation of Chinese bronzes, but he displayed Thoms' 1851 English translation of it, alongside his collection, at the Palais de l'Industrie in 1873.[138] The Bogutulu was commissioned by the emperor Huizong - the role model of the Qing-dynasty emperor Qianlong. Having studied a Qing-dynasty ceramics manual (the 1774 *Tao Shuo*), Mokubei understood the culture of emulation that characterized that period. Also, through the translated Chinese texts in his possession, Cernuschi knew of and admired these two emperors who, more than six centuries apart, stood out as the most significant emperor-collectors in Chinese history.

In his collection, Mokubei's object channeled knowledge about East Asian art. It challenged French assumptions about Chinese and Japanese art and contributed to a more nuanced understanding of the interplay between the two cultures. As this image shows, Cernuschi emphasized the dialogue between Chinese and Japanese objects by displaying them on opposite sides of the room in his mansion (**Fig.36**). In 1873, responding to the exhibition at the Palais de l'Industrie, the critic Castagnary attempted to distinguish between Chinese and Japanese ceramics, arguing that Japanese vessels are more delicate than Chinese ones.[139] He concluded that ceramic artifacts of both countries displayed an

[138] Albert Jacquemart, "Les bronzes chinois au palais de l'Industrie" in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. VIII, Paris, 1873, 281-283. In secondary literature, mentioned by Maucuer 1998 (*Henri Cernuschi, 19821-1896*, *Voyageur et Collectionneur*, p. 42) and Chang 2013 (*Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, p. 53).

[139] Jules-Antoine Castagnary in *Le Siècle*, September 6, 1873.

equal degree of inventiveness.[140] Another commentator, the ceramics historian Albert Jacquemart, whose *History of Ceramics* appeared in 1873, further nuanced Castagnary's observation, noting that the principle of repetition in Chinese art underscored the enduring aspect of Chinese culture.[141]

Japanese objects like this vessel constructed the notion of a long-lasting Chinese culture by invoking China in the past and by invoking the past as interconnected with China. Building on the work of David Lowenthal,[142] I suggest that, for Mokubei, the past was a foreign country. Mokubei's object substantiated important distinctions in the French theory of East Asian art, contributing to a shift from the notions of repetition - associated with China - and imitation - associated with Japan - to the notion of emulation. To French critics and artists, the concept of emulation was not unfamiliar, considering the post-Renaissance ideal that called for imitating and surpassing the canon. In the words of Martin Powers, cross-cultural archaism and antiquarianism are to be understood as "by-products of canon formation" in Europe as well as in China and in Japan.[143]

Through objects like Mokubei's ceramic vessel, Cernuschi's collection fostered a nuanced understanding of the complex relation of emulation between Chinese and

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[140] Ibid.

[141] Jacquemart, "Les bronzes chinois au palais de l'Industrie," pp. 281-282. Also cited by Chang, *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, pp. 55-56.

[142] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (London: Cambridge UP, 1985).

[143] Martin Powers, "Imitation and Reference in China's Pictorial Tradition," in *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (Chicago, 2010), p. 103.

Japanese art. In its anachronism and artifice, this object displayed a cross-referential and self-referential dimension that French artists, critics, and collectors recognized as symptomatic of the eclectic and increasingly global art of the late nineteenth century. This aspect was an agent of change in art forms and values. The influence of objects like Mokubei's blurred the line between fine art and decorative art, emphasized self-referentiality, and contributed to the emergence of a modernist paradigm. Cernuschi's enthusiasm and willingness to share his collection with others ensured the collection's impact in France and elsewhere. Numerous local and foreign visitors were granted the opportunity to see Cernuschi's collection in his mansion in Paris.[144] More importantly, Cernuschi was aware that French artists and producers were making ceramic objects inspired by the Japanese artifacts that flooded the market after 1858 and wanted to contribute to this phenomenon by offering objects from his collection as models. In that, Cernuschi represented an invaluable link between Japanese bronzes and ceramics, on the one hand, and French japoniste ceramics, on the other, because he was one of the first collectors to provide producers with ceramic models for their ceramics. If in 1867, before Cernuschi's trip to Japan, artists and entrepreneurs like Bracquemond and Rousseau were producing tableware inspired by Japanese prints (see Chapter 3), in 1874, after Cernuschi's return from Japan, the ceramic manufactory Haviland & Co was producing ceramic vases and pots that no longer borrowed from other mediums like prints, but directly emulated Japanese ceramics – drawn from Cernuschi's collection (see the last section of the current chapter). This little-known aspect of Cernuschi's activity exemplifies his identity as a cultural broker rather than as a collector. The objects that he

[144] Ting Chang, *Travel, Collecting, and Museums of Asian Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, p. 59.

and Haviland chose as models from his collection were, like Mokubei's bowl, ceramics that emulated ancient Chinese bronzes. This collaboration between a collector – a "mover" of information and specifically of objects as carriers of information – and a producer – essentially a "maker" – is the central mechanism of the japoniste phenomenon and its consequences. It is this mechanism that will be explored at length in the following, and penultimate, section of this chapter.

2.3. The Japoniste Social Network: Ceramics as a Binding Force

The collector Henri Cernuschi collaborated with Charles Haviland, a cultural entrepreneur known in nineteenth-century France as a marchand-editeur, on a project that involved an intellectual exchange of objects: the collector provided old Japanese ceramics as models, the businessman responded with new objects, produced by a team of potters and designers who emulated the model. One of the designers employed by Haviland was Felix Bracquemond, a fine artist working in painting and printmaking. Before his collaboration with Haviland, Bracquemond worked on similar japoniste ceramic projects with other marchand-editeurs, notably Eugène Rousseau, a competitor of Haviland. Charles Haviland not only owned and operated a small ceramic manufactory in Paris, but also worked with Limoges, a centuries-old manufactory whose entirely local ceramic objects competed with the multicultural Japanese-French objects marketed by marchand-merciers – the forefathers of marchand-editeurs – in the eighteenth century. Bracquemond and his wife Marie, an accomplished artist herself, belonged to the Impressionist circles and counted Edouard Manet, his sister-in-law Berthe Morisot, and Mary Cassatt among their friends. Marie Bracquemond designed motifs for ceramic decoration for Haviland; Cassatt bought ceramic sets produced by Haviland and designed by the Bracquemonds.

The connections outlined above represent only a fragment of a much wider social network, which is yet to be understood and analyzed. This section fills that gap in japoniste studies. Methods of social network analysis are employed here not only as a

means of describing the network, but also as a tool through which the network can illuminate mechanisms of change and innovation in the larger context in which the network is embedded. This approach is premised on the belief that a more accurate understanding of the system, one that takes into account the so-called periphery as well as the historical canon, is best achieved through a combination of qualitative methods, notably formal analysis and historiography, and "distant reading,"[145] as enabled by the development of conceptual models through abstraction. As noted by the iconoclastic scholar Franco Moretti, distance from detail and circumstance can be used as a tool and as a form of knowledge.[146] For the purposes of this study, such interdisciplinary methods allow for an integrated view of the japoniste ceramic phenomenon, illuminating how organizations, individuals, and objects all operate as agents in the cross-cultural transmission and transformation of aesthetic and sociocultural values.

This case study and my findings are relevant to consider in a re-evaluation of the benefits and challenges of ANT (Actor Network Theory), which proposes a relational materiality that does not privilege, or differentiate between, context and content, human agents and objects as agents, and societal and natural forces.[147] This understanding of how all entities are valorized in relation to one another implies that objects fulfill roles as agents – an argument for the power of objects, artifacts, and images that has preoccupied art

[145] The term is used here according to the definition of Franco Moretti in *Graphs, Maps, Trees* (New York: Verso Books, 2005).

[146] Ibid.

[147] See: Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005).

historians for decades.[148] And one can argue that, within the family of objects, works of art are particularly appropriate to reflect upon in terms of the power they exert in social contexts. While it is important to recognize, of course, that objects are not "alive," I suggest that a serious consideration of the meanings and effects ascribed to objects – especially artifacts and images – can explain how inanimate things affect social dynamics, thereby leading to a better understanding of sociocultural and political change.

The historical data I collected and its analysis through qualitative and quantitative sociological tools led me to the conclusion that this tightly knit social network used ceramics as the currency of cross-cultural exchange, brokering unprecedented links within and between the central binaries of the nineteenth-century French art world[149]: academic/ avant-garde, art/ craft, fine art/ decorative art, painting/ other mediums, intrinsic/ instrumental, representational/ self-referential, tradition/ innovation. I propose that this combined exploration of a social network and the "boundary objects"[150] that represented its raison d'etre illuminates, first, what was unique about the triangulation of ceramics, Japanese aesthetics, and nineteenth-century France, and second, how the

[148] See: David Freedberg, *The Power of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

[149] "Art world" is used here to designate the economic and sociocultural structure of agents who contribute to the creation of cultural products and specifically works of art, as defined by Howard Becker in *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1984). A similar concept is that of a "field of cultural production," as described by Pierre Bourdieu in *The Field of Cultural Production* (New York: Columbia UP, 1993). More recently, Eiko Ikegami wrote about the co-emergence of "identities" – objects and categories of objects – and "publics" – the context in which and through which identities are formed: E. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (NY: Cambridge UP, 2005).

[150] Term coined by Susan Leigh Star. See: Geoffrey Bowker et al, eds., *Boundary Objects and Beyond: Working with Leigh Star* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015); G. Bowker and S. L. Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999).

materiality of ceramics channeled knowledge and significantly contributed to shaping the "modern" and the "global" in art.

Considering the special roles of France and of ceramics in Japonisme and in the global infrastructure of nineteenth-century art worlds, I use two criteria of inclusion for the social network analyzed here: all agents – both individuals and organizations – were active in France (permanently or temporarily) and were involved with ceramics in some capacity (collector, dealer, producer, etc.). These criteria set the boundary of the network. The boundary helped focus the analysis on how japoniste ceramics linked and fueled various forms of sociocultural innovation in nineteenth-century France, with consequences in Japan, the United States, England, and other European countries.

Also, my descriptions and visualization of this network assume a temporally cumulative perspective. All roles and ties occurred and unfolded during the lifetimes of those mentioned, but no temporal milestones or changes are captured. Some collaborations were recurrent, friendships increased and decreased in frequency of contact, and multiple examples of the same types of ceramics were present in two or more different collections. For these and other similar reasons, adding a temporal dimension to the network would have required assuming that certain dates – e.g. the formation or dispersal of a collection, the first letters exchanged between two people – represented before-and-after milestones, while, in fact, they were not, if a holistic view is to be adopted, one that takes into consideration that objects traveled from one collection to the other and that many interactions took place in studios, at salons, and in shops, unrecorded except for general

descriptions of japoniste circles, such as Raymond Koechlin's *Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient,* written as a memoir as late as 1930.

Main Actors and Relational Ties

The social network of French ceramics-driven Japonisme comprises at least 134 agents, both individuals and organizations (see Table 5 in Appendices, A. Tables). This list is the result of my extensive archival research in France, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, conducted in several languages (French, Japanese, English, Spanish, and Italian). There are several ways in which to group network members, all of which have merit in illuminating the nature of the network. At first glance, they can be categorized as "makers," designating all those who contributed to the production of japoniste ceramics, and "movers," designating all those who collected, dealt in, and otherwise exchanged Japanese ceramics in France. The network of "makers" and "movers" shows the many connections between these two groups, including collections that combined Japanese ceramics and French japoniste ceramics (e.g. Charles Haviland, Paul Jeanneney) and collaborations which entailed the direct use of Japanese ceramics as models for japoniste ceramics (e.g. Haviland's ceramics inspired by Cernuschi's collection; Carriès' ceramics inspired by Jeanneney's collection).

The "makers" include painters, printmakers, potters, sculptors, entrepreneurs known as marchand-editeurs, and ceramic manufactories. The "movers" include collectors, dealers, critics, galleries, shops, and exhibition venues such as the Salons and the World's Fairs.

A minority of agents within the network fall into both categories: Charles Haviland, the owner of several ceramic studios/ manufactories that produced japoniste objects and a well-connected collector of Japanese artifacts, notably ceramics; Siegfried Bing, a dealer and collector of Japanese ceramics, editor of a short-lived, but influential periodical on Japanese art and culture, *Le Japon artistique*, and a marchand-editeur who orchestrated the production of new art fueled by Japanese aesthetics and cultural values; the sculptor Auguste Rodin, also a collector of Japanese ceramics and a contributor to several japoniste ceramic objects, produced in collaboration with other ceramists; the above-mentioned Paul Jeanneney, collector of Japanese ceramics and one of the first "art potters" who authored japoniste ceramics; and Jules Jacquemart, collector of Japanese ceramics and potter who employed japoniste formal vocabulary. Interestingly, these individuals are also among the most connected and most influential members of the network. Bridging collectors and producers and displaying an intimate understanding of both pursuits, these "double agents" were central to managing ceramics that channeled knowledge and fueled change.

Also illuminating is the categorization of network members, not by their activities in the world, but by the role(s) they played within the network: innovators are those who introduced new elements of form that broke with tradition (e.g. Felix Bracquemond); connectors of disparate worlds are those who belonged to different social realms and bridged them by exemplifying shared interests in the revision of historical values and hierarchies (e.g. Frank Burty Haviland); and brokers of information are those who contributed actively to the circulation of knowledge about Japanese aesthetic principles,

especially as pertaining to ceramics (e.g. Hayashi Tadamasa). All three roles entailed objects and a complex engagement with the materiality of ceramics. Sociological studies of historical networks usually address the multiple roles fulfilled by network agents, exploring how those roles contributed to shifts within the network, in the fluctuation of individual power, and in widely accepted meanings and values.[151] In our case, the multiple roles that members of the japoniste social circles assumed can only be understood if paired with the exchange and formation of meaning, as derived from the interest in, and circulation of, Japanese ceramics. How to translate Edo-period motifs to French tableware? In what ways did the experience of making ceramics that emulated Japanese ones inform early experiments with a non-representational and self-referential formal vocabulary, later to be crystallized in Cubist and abstractionist idioms? And what shifts in economic and cultural value occurred when Japanese ceramics and French Impressionist paintings were exchanged in the cosmopolitan circles of late nineteenth-century Paris? These questions are at the core of Japonisme and exemplify a collective interest in learning from material culture.

Studying the French ceramics-driven japoniste social network helped me to identify those who represented peripheral nexuses that connected the japoniste world with other prominent areas of the art world. For example, Marie Bracquemond linked Japonisme to the Academy's Salons through her exhibition activity and friendships with both academic

[151] See, for example, John Padgett's study of Florentine families and the rise to prominence of Cosimo de Medici: J. F. Padgett and C. K Ansell, "Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434" in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 98, no. 6 (1993). A critique of Padgett's and Ansel's article that emphasizes the role of meaning and culture for network analysis is: M. Emirbayer and J. Goodwin, "Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency" in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 99, no. 6 (1994).

and avant-garde artists. The ceramist Théodore Deck linked Japonisme to French realist circles via his professional collaboration, at the Sèvres manufacture, with Champfleury, the politically engaged critic who was the primary advocate of the realist painter Gustave Courbet and a collector of French folk ceramics. The collector and ceramist Jules Jacquemart linked Japonisme to the Rococo Revival movement via his friendship and collaboration with his father, the ceramics historian Albert Jacquemart, and with the collector and historian Edmond de Goncourt. The marchand-éditeur Siegfried Bing linked Japonisme to Art Nouveau and the Arts & Crafts Movement via his collaborations with the artists Frank Brangwyn, William Morris, and Scandinavian furniture designers. Paul Burty Haviland linked Japonisme to early art photography via his professional affiliation with *Camera Work* and his friendship with the photographer and critic Alfred Stieglitz. Frank Burty Haviland linked Japonisme to Cubism and abstractionism via his friendship and association, at the School of Céret, with Picasso and Braque.

The relevance of the "broker" for the changes that redefined art in the late nineteenth century highlights the major role played by an understudied category of cultural agents, the marchand-editeurs. Around 1750, a Parisian entrepreneur – one of many called marchand-merciers - bought two Japanese porcelain shell-shaped containers and repurposed them into potpourri fragrance dispensers by mounting French gilt-bronze lids, feet, and handles onto them. This pair of objects is the kind of product that resulted from their stock in trade (**Fig.37**).[152] Little over a century later, marchand-merciers would radically change their work. Under the new name of marchand-éditeurs, they ceased to

[152] Marchand-merciers cut porcelain objects of Japanese and Chinese origin and mounted them with gilt bronze or ormolu fittings. Sargentson, 1996; Watson, 1986.

alter objects of a different culture and/ or of the past and instead used such objects as models for the production of new objects. These new objects bore the influence of Japanese art and represented a stepping-stone to major revisions of French definitions and hierarchies of art. It was the emergence and success of the marchand-éditeur as a new type of cultural entrepreneur that enabled this change.

The dealership of objects of decorative or applied arts represented one of the defining characteristics of this professional group, in the nineteenth century as in the eighteenth. What set marchand-éditeurs apart from their predecessors was, according to multiple self-definitions, their initiative and direct contact with the French public.[153] The nineteenth-century counterpart of the marchand-mercier, although still not a maker, was an "editor of objects" not only for luxury markets, but also, ideally, for everyone (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of a japoniste table service that illustrates this type of producer and the values they expounded). The marchand-éditeur orchestrated the production of objects that were essentially new in at least two ways: firstly, even if referencing Japanese medieval painting or eighteenth-century Rococo design, the objects were produced anew by artists and manufactures; and secondly, the combinations of motifs from different cultures and time periods were innovative, contributing to new aesthetic values.

The Pannier brothers, marchand-éditeurs who ran a popular Parisian shop, mounted an Art Nouveau vase, inspired by decades of assimilating Japanese art, with bronze mounts

[153] One such marchand-editeur who stated and wrote about these principles was Eugène Rousseau. See: Jean-Paul Bouillon, Christine Shimizu, Philippe Thiebaut*, Art, industrie et Japonisme: le service 'Rousseau'* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), pp. 9-10.

that appear to take over the object (**Fig.38**). Unlike marchand-merciers, the Pannier brothers used newly and locally manufactured parts. The multimedia object embodied the tension between clashing elements with disparate iconographic readings (the Japanese bird-and-flower[154] motif on the vase and the head of the Medusa on the mounts), eliciting an emotional and intellectual response. This kind of object, of which there are many examples, brought the cycle of revising cross-cultural appropriation full circle. Although reminiscent of eighteenth-century marchand-mercier mounted porcelain, the Pannier object is decidedly different, because the marchand-éditeur who orchestrated its production used local components only and harnessed local resources as entrepreneurs of the past did with foreign resources. In the new age of the marchand-éditeur, the foreign porcelain that was once severed from its history and original meaning came to represent a model for local porcelain that replaced, and became preferable to, imports.

The shift from the marchand-mercier model to the marchand-éditeur model engendered a change in the relation between ceramics and authenticity. Spooner argued that, as East-West trade shifted from mediated to direct, price and authenticity became points of negotiation.[155] Baudrillard defined authenticity as "that moral imperative to which modern art is dedicated and by which it becomes modern."[156] According to this understanding of "modern," decorative objects can become modern only by negotiating

[154] Pairing images of birds with images of flowers, bird-and-flower is a genre and a pictorial theme that has known numerous variants and interpretations in China and in Japan. There is rich literature on the subject. A recent study is: Yukio Lippit, *Colorful Realm: Japanese Bird-and-flower Paintings by Itō Jakuchū* (National Gallery of Art, 2012).

[155] Appadurai, 1988, p. 44.

[156] Baudrillard, 1981, p. 103.

and solving their relationship to authenticity. The Japanese porcelain on the eighteenth-century French art market, altered and sold by marchand-merciers, was produced in Japan specifically for the European market, as commissioned by the Dutch East India Company. As such, it was not perceived as authentically "Japanese." In the nineteenth century, as knowledge about Japanese art became increasingly widespread, marchand-éditeurs corrected the authenticity problem of eighteenth-century marchand-mercier ceramics by orchestrating the production of objects that emulated the Japanese aesthetic, but were new and local, thereby uncontestably authentic and modern.

As "cultural brokers," marchand-editeurs like Rousseau and Haviland, collectors like Cernuschi, and critics and historians like Duret and Gonse occupied prominent positions in japoniste social circles, as their privileged access to objects and the knowledge derived from them was both prestigious and influential. However, these same positions could also be characterized as precarious, because they often relied upon newly built bridges between previously unconnected individuals and groups. In addition, questions of credibility and legitimacy were always bound up with the identities of these "brokers." Hayashi would apply seals to woodblock prints that he sold to French collectors, not unlike the "signatures" traditionally applied by Japanese painters-historians to older works of art attributed to their predecessors within familial lineages of painters.[157] Hayashi's practice can also be compared to the collector's seal traditionally applied on

[157] For a detailed discussion of painting authentication practices in Japanese artistic houses, see Yukio Lippit, *Painting of the Realm: The Kanō House of Painters in 17th-century Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), especially the fourth chapter, "The Surrogate Signature."

Chinese paintings and calligraphy, like those in imperial collections.[158] Rooted in East Asian traditions, Hayashi's seal was recognizable in French circles, as well, as an effort to legitimize the collector-dealer who shaped the discourse on the commercialized objects (in this case, woodblock prints). With ceramics, a seal was neither possible nor sufficient. The discourse that accompanied the exchange of ceramics had to be descriptive and interpretive of the object, refocusing the interaction on the object itself, its accompanying box and any documents, and its larger aesthetic and historical context. Hayashi as well as some French dealers actively used widely accepted French notions of art, craft, and decoration to characterize Japanese ceramics (see Chapter 4), but the legitimation of their expertise and ultimately of the "authenticity" of the object as a valuable source of knowledge sprang from a shared experience of the epistemologically rich materiality of the ceramic object. As the collector Georges de Tressan wrote in his *Notes sur l'art japonais* of 1905, "(…) nothing can replace the direct study of the art object."[159]

Ceramics circulated among collectors, dealers, and producers through several types of relationships, which I grouped into three umbrella categories: professional, social, and familial. The professional ties include collaborations between potters (e.g. Adrien Dalpayrat and Jules Vieillard in Bordeaux), collaborations among designers, marchand-editeurs, and ceramic manufactories (e.g. Felix Bracquemond, Eugene Rousseau, and the

[158] For an explanation of Chinese collector's seals and imperial seals for paintings and calligraphy: William Watson, *The Arts of China, 900-1620* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 2000); and David Shambaugh and Jeannette Shambaugh Elliot, *The Odyssey of China's Imperial Art Treasures* (Seattle, U. of Washington Press, 2015).

[159] "(…) Rien ne peut remplacer l'étude directe de l'objet d'art." Marquis de Tressan*, Notes sur l'art japonais* (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1905), p. 9. Translation mine.

Creil & Montereau manufactory), recurrent transactional or commercial activity between a dealer and a collector (e.g. Philippe Burty making repeated purchases from the shop of Mme. Hatty), and more institutionalized practices such as employment (e.g. Haviland's employment of Ernest Chaplet or Sèvres' employment of Theodore Deck.) The social ties designate those relationships that do not involve the direct acquisition, exchange, and production of ceramics, but which facilitated communication and fueled collaboration. Such ties include friendships (e.g. that between fellow collectors of Japanese ceramics, Raymond Koechlin and Gaston Migeon), memberships in, and affiliations with, the same organizations (e.g. both Auguste Rodin and Edmond de Goncourt, fellow collectors of Japanese ceramics, belonged to the *Société des amis de l'art japonais*), and collegial reporting and evaluation among collectors and makers (e.g. Paul Gasnault's extensive comments of fellow collectors' exhibits at the 1878 World's Fair, published in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*.)

Lastly, some ties were of a familial nature, as a number of families played a significant role in forging unprecedented professional collaborations, proliferating the production of japoniste ceramics, and legitimizing such cultural activities in the context of a changing art world. The most influential families were: Burty Haviland (whose members included three marchand-éditeurs, David, Charles, and Theodore Haviland, who produced and marketed japoniste table services, two artists – Frank and Paul Burty Haviland – who brought the japoniste aesthetic to the attention of the early twentieth-century avant-garde, and one art critic – Philippe Burty – whose writings helped to legitimize Japonisme as a field of study and a new French paradigm); Bracquemond (both spouses, Marie and

Felix, designed japoniste ceramic motifs and belonged to the Impressionist circle); and Jacquemart (whose members included Albert, a historian of French ceramics who was also a collector of Japanese ceramics; Nélie, an Impressionist artist whose husband's collection of eighteenth-century French porcelain fueled the Japonisme-related Rococo Revival; and Jules, a printmaker who, as a member of the Jing-lar Society, contributed to the public association of the japoniste aesthetic with Republicanism).

Thus understood, the ties that brought together the ceramics-driven japoniste world entailed spending time together, writing to and about each other, exchanging objects, and collaborating on joint ceramic projects. However, a tie does not always signify a friendship. Connections were often ridden with tension, as ceramists and decorators sought the best teachers and studios of the day (e.g. Felix Bracquemond working under Theodore Deck), and collectors competed for the same objects (e.g. Edward Sylvester Morse seeking the ceramics that Siegfried Bing had bought, both attempting to echo Ninagawa Noritane's collection). Also, dealers, perhaps more than others, competed for authority and customers. As Gabriel Weisberg has shown, some were better at promoting their business than others, and some had sources that were unique to them and inaccessible to others (e.g. Siegfried Bing, as a dealer, presented a more aggressive advertising campaign than fellow dealer Philippe Sichel; also, Bing had direct contact with the Japanese market through his brother, Auguste, who was based in Tokyo.)[160]

[160] Gabriel Weisberg, "Trading in Japonisme: The French Obsession with Japanese Art," talk and roundtable discussion, Freer & Sackler Museum, May 13th, 2017.

The Japoniste Social Spaces

From Simmel's relationism, according to which everyone and everything assumes social roles which contribute to an interplay of objective and individual forms of culture,[161] to more recent theories, such as Ikegami's definition of social spheres – both actual and imagined – as "interactional spaces of discursive or non-discursive communication,"[162] sociological perspectives propose that social networks exist in sociocultural environments that are simultaneously the cause and the effect of systems of relationships. Nineteenth-century japoniste circles occupied multiple social spaces, both physical sites of interaction (e.g., private salons, galleries, studios, etc.) and intellectual ones, like imaginary realms of a Japan reconstructed through collections of Japanese artifacts, or visual vocabularies which, akin to a dictionary, defined worlds anew. I propose that these two types of social spaces – concrete/ physical and intellectual/ symbolic – fuse in what can be called "exclusive societies," minimally formalized communities with regular meetings and shared activities, for network members only. These societies both fuel and reinforce the constellation of agents, ideas, and objects that form the substance of the network. Ceramics-driven Japonisme has known several such "societies," of which the Société du Jing-lar (est. 1867) and Hugues Krafft's Midori-no-sato (est.1886) exemplify the above-mentioned model most closely and are the best known and most prominent.

Japoniste ceramics, more than any other kind of nineteenth-century French ceramics, lay

[161] David Frisby, ed., *Georg Simmel: Critical Assessments* (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 1994), vol. 1 of 3.

[162] Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, 2005, p. 51.

at the intersection of artistic innovation and radical political activity. Philippe Burty – art critic, collector of Japanese art, and father-in-law of Charles Haviland – founded the Jing-Lar Society at the Sèvres ceramic manufacture, where Champfleury, Theodore Deck, and Felix Bracquemond (among others) worked at various points from the 1860s to the 1900s. Its core membership was comprised of Burty himself, Bracquemond, the painter and printmaker Henri Fantin-Latour (1836-1904), the art critic and poet Zacharie Astruc (1833-1907), the painter and collector of Japanese art Alphonse Hirsch, the ceramist, printmaker, and collector of Japanese art Jules Jacquemart, and the porcelain painter and employee of Sèvres, Marc-Louis Solon (1835-1913).[163]

The members of the Jing-Lar Society were Japanese art enthusiasts (hence the society's name that was chosen to invoke an East Asian language) and left-wing intellectuals. All of those associated with the Jing-Lar Society identified themselves as Republicans. In the Second Empire, established in 1852 after the Second Republic failed, Republicans were a political minority and decidedly in the opposition. However, they tolerated the Empire because of the liberal nature of the reforms that Napoleon III adopted, transforming the empire into a more parliamentary regime.[164] Because they welcomed these reforms and feared the governmental forces that worked to suppress the opposition, Republicans typically protested moderately through vote abstention, censored magazines, and secret

[163] Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 143.

[164] Pamela Pilbeam, "From the Silent Years to Bloody Week: Republicans 1852-1871" in *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814-1871* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

societies like the Jing-lar.[165] For this Society, Bracquemond designed a plate (**Fig.39**) that functioned as a secret ceramic diploma certifying membership. The plate was both an art object and a political statement. As it was often the case with japoniste ceramics, this plate was designed by an artist – Bracquemond –, commissioned by a marchand-éditeur – Rousseau –, and produced by a manufactory – Lebeuf Milliet et Cie (owned by the Creil and Montereau company). The same team that produced a groundbreaking ceramic set in 1866 – the first japoniste expression in ceramics - produced, two years later, another groundbreaking object: one that announced ceramics as an outlet for political messages. Borderless and painted with visible brushwork, the decoration of the "ceramic diploma" looks like a painting transferred to a plate. The iconography reads like that of a political caricature: the imperial eagle appears to be frightened by a sun that bears a Phrygian cap, adopted by Republicans as revolutionary symbol. The text ("ce soleil là me fait peur"/ "this sun makes me afraid") ensured that, if the image failed, the viewer still got the message.

Held together by common interests, shared political views, and the cultivation of a shared aesthetic modeled on East Asian and particularly Japanese arts, the Jing-lar was nonetheless diverse in terms of the out-of-network connections of its members. Specifically, the Jing-lar brought japoniste ideas in dialogue with other significant social-artistic phenomena that fueled change in late nineteenth-century France, through Bracquemond's and Astruc's ties to the Impressionists, Astruc's efforts to disseminate knowledge about the arts and literary traditions of Spain and Japan in French popular

[165] Ibid.

culture, and Jacquemart's, Bracquemond's, and Fantin's affiliation with the renewed interest in etching and printmaking, which led to an increased visibility of art and recent history across French society. This combination of a strong identity with a diverse membership transformed the Jing-lar into a means of disseminating japoniste values among the economic, intellectual, and artistic elite of late nineteenth-century Paris.

Another "exclusive society" that brought together actual and imagined japoniste social spaces was the house of the photographer Hugues Krafft (1853-1935), known as Midori-no-sato. Even more concrete than the Jing-lar, Midori-no-sato was quite literally a fragment of "green countryside" (in Japanese: *midori no sato* 緑の里), emulating Japanese landscape and architecture as seen by Krafft during his stay in Japan in 1882-1883. Before its opening in 1886, Midori-no-sato was carefully planned. Krafft commissioned a Japanese house at Loges-en-Josas, south of Versailles. He worked on designing a Japanese garden around it, complete with hills, a lantern, bridges, and a shrine with a *torii* 鳥居 gate, collaborating – later on – with the Japanese landscapist Wasuke Hata (1865-1928).[166] Like Jing-lar meetings, Krafft's gatherings at Midori-no-sato involved drinking, eating Japanese (or Japanese-style) food with Japanese utensils, and dressing up in Japanese (or Japanese-inspired) outfits.[167] Those who partook of Krafft's realm of an imagined Japan included Louis Gonse, Raymond Koechlin, Siegfried Bing, Mathilde Bonaparte, Marcel Proust, Leon Pallandre, Henri Cernuschi, Hayashi

[166] Christopher Reed, *Bachelor Japanists: Japanese Aesthetics & Western Masculinities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), pp. 101, 104.

[167] Reed, p. 105.

Tadamasa, and Edmond de Goncourt, as attested by photographs (**Fig.40**) and Midori-no-sato's guestbook.[168]

But are we to take seriously these places and experiences that involved heavy drinking and countless forms of cultural appropriation? A cursory look at Burty's Jing-lar membership card (**Fig.41**) discourages from taking any of it seriously. In the image, Mount Fuji is smoking; two oversized paper cranes frame a huge piece of paper that covers what could have been a schematic rendition of Japanese landscape. However, as it has been noted, the depiction of Mt. Fuji resembles that commonly seen in Edo-period woodblock prints with which French collectors and artists were familiar.[169] Furthermore, I would suggest that the seemingly irreverent imagery was not a sign of disrespect, but a fittingly humorous acknowledgment of the playfulness that characterized Japanese visual representation. The multiple layers of visual logic in the Jing-lar membership card evoke both the French eighteenth-century arabesque tradition and the Japanese mitate and ukiyo imagery. This playful engagement with Japanese visual playfulness was not limited to this card. The drinking parties at Jing-lar and Midori-no-sato call to mind the literati gatherings and renga-writing parties of pre-Meiji Japan. Also, as Reed has noted, Hugues Krafft was interested in authenticity and a faithful reconstruction of the Japan he experienced and photographed, as a foil to Cernuschi's house-museum, where Japanese

[168] Ibid. Also: Archival records of Hugues Krafft and Midori-no-sato, Musée Hôtel Le Vergeur, Société des Amis du Vieux Reims, Reims. In secondary source literature: Annette Leduc Beaulieu, "Hugues Krafft's Midori-no-sato: The Art of Bringing Zen to the West" in Petra Chu and Laurinda Dixon, eds., *Twenty-First-Century Perspective on Nineteenth-Century Art* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008).

[169] H. Byron Earhart, *Mount Fuji: Icon of Japan* (University of South Carolina Press, 2015), Chapter 10, note 17.

artifacts were embedded in a European architectural and design setting.[170] Attesting to that are his collaboration with the garden designer Wasuke Hata, the presence of the Japanese ambassador at the opening of Midori-no-sato (**Fig.42**), and the seemingly genuine appreciation of the place on the part of other Japanese visitors, including Hayashi Tadamasa's brother, Hagiwara Masatomo, who composed the following poem about it: "Contemplant la verdure des collines, je prends du thé et je me crois être dans ma patrie [Contemplating the green foliage of the hills, I have tea and believe to be in my home country]."[171] The poem subtly substantiates the reference to home in the very name of the place that Krafft had chosen, as the "sato" in "Midori-no-sato" refers to a generic place as well as to one's hometown or home village and – metaphorically – to one's origins and one's past.

What made the Midori-no-sato experience a "home" for japoniste circles was not only the emulation of a visually and intellectually playful and complex Japan, but also the fusion of Japanese aesthetics with local history and aspirations, namely the Rococo Revival and Republican thought. This combination was encouraged by the collector and writer Edmond de Goncourt and expressed in japoniste ceramics, beginning with the 1866-67 Bracquemond-Rousseau table set (see Chapter 3, section 2). As "exclusive societies" that married actual quarters with virtual spaces of collective imagination, Jing-lar and Midori-no-sato found translation of what they stood for in ceramics, either collected or produced

[170] Reed, p. 99.

[171] *Le livre d'or de "Midori-no-sato"* [guestbook of Midori-no-sato], Musée Hôtel Le Vergeur, Société des Amis du Vieux Reims, Reims. Also cited in: Reed, pp. 336-337, note 234. Translation into English mine.

anew. Populating social spaces, used as currency, and providing a laboratory for testing new ideas, both artistic and political, ceramics were at the core of japoniste social spaces as a binding force. Like the Jing-lar and Midori-no-sato worlds, japoniste ceramics were both actual objects and constellations of ideas. The relation between social ties and the materiality of circulating objects deserves further investigation, to which I will attend next.

Network Visualization and Analysis

The visualization of the French ceramics-driven japoniste world entailed the careful consideration of a wide range of sources – objects, letters, receipts, journals, articles, photographs, and other types of primary and secondary sources – in order to create an analyzable list of all network members and the relationships among them. Resulting from the use of both network analysis software and qualitative analysis, the network diagrams I present here help one to see patterns and structures otherwise difficult to detect, considering the complexity of this well-populated and very active social group. These exercises in visualization bring us closer to a holistic and nuanced understanding of the sources, mechanisms, and consequences of ceramic Japonisme.

This circular visualization of the network (**Fig.43**) captures the actors, designated as nodes along the diameter, and the connections among them, designated by the curved lines that connect pairs across the circle. Each node is color-coded by roles that the agents fulfilled within the network. Specifically, the purple-colored nodes identify all those who

contributed to the circulation of ceramics and the dissemination of knowledge about Japanese ceramics and more generally Japanese arts and aesthetic values, typically dealers and collectors. The green-colored nodes identify those who produced ceramics in emulation of Japanese ceramics and/ or using motifs and representational solutions drawn from Japanese imagery, typically ceramists, porcelain painters, and designers of ceramic decoration programs. The orange-colored nodes designate those who fulfilled both of the above-mentioned roles, making them both "movers" and "makers" of japoniste objects and values. In size, the nodes are proportional to the degree of each agent in the network, calculated by counting the number of connections of each individual and organization, and arrayed counter-clockwise in decreasing order from the most to the least connected.

This complementary visualization (**Fig.44**) is a result of the same parameters as Figure 43, but employs a different organizing principle for the order of nodes. In this image, the criterion used was that of the actors' betweenness centrality within the network. The ranking based on betweenness measures the number of times an individual or organization is a part of the shortest path between two other individuals or organizations. While in Figure 43 the size and the order of the nodes were both dictated by the same measure, that of degree (the number of connections per agent), in Figure 44 the size and the order of nodes have different criteria, namely degree for the size and betweenness for the order. For example, the node for the painter and ceramist Laurent Bouvier is placed in the first half of the counterclockwise circular array of nodes, because he was central to the network in bridging different worlds (e.g. academic painters in Paris and potters in Sèvres and Limoges). However, the node is very small, because Bouvier had relatively

few direct connections. In other words, his prominence in the japoniste milieu was due not to the number of people he was connected with, but to the many elements within the network – individuals, organizations, objects, and ideas – that he helped bridge. As the image shows, overwhelmingly, the sizes of nodes decrease counterclockwise, suggesting that the more connections one had, the more central to connecting otherwise disparate environments they became. This observation reinforces the significant role that sociability and collaboration played in the development of japoniste ceramics as a category, on the one hand, and for the visibility and impact of Japanese and japoniste ceramics in the French nineteenth-century art world, on the other.

As confirmed by the visualization of nodes arranged by betweenness centrality, the most powerful nexus figures that forged a sense of community around Japanese and japoniste ceramics are the dealer and collector Siegfried Bing, the painter, printmaker, and ceramic designer Felix Bracquemond, and the ceramic manufactory of Haviland & Co. Also particularly prominent were Ernest Chaplet and the ceramist brothers Edouard and Albert Dammouse, among artists, the G.D.A. porcelain manufactory in Limoges and the ceramic manufactory of Sèvres, among manufactories, Georges Hoentschel and Eugène Rousseau, among marchand-editeurs, Edmond de Goncourt, Philippe Burty, and Theodore Duret, among critics, and Edmond de Goncourt, Raymond Koechlin, and Charles Haviland, among collectors. Interestingly, many of these key members of the network – like Bing, Goncourt, and Burty – pursued two or more professional activities pertaining to Japonisme and ceramics. Not coincidentally, the one who appears to be the most connected – Siegfried Bing – is both a "mover" and a "maker," as he imported

ceramics from Japan, through his brother Auguste, who was based in Yokohama, featured them in his own collection and in various displays for both educational and commercial purposes, and commissioned new works of art, in ceramics as well as other mediums, encouraging artists to draw on Japanese ideas and imagery. In so doing, Bing positioned himself at the intersection of communities of collectors and communities of artists; the role of intermediary helped both Bing in furthering his career and the two communities that he brought together, by providing each with insights from the other's knowledge and experience.

Figures 43 and 44 visualize the relationships between network agents by distinguishing among familial, social, and professional types of ties, as explained earlier in the current section. As it can be noticed in either of these network pictures, the red edges – designating relationships of a professional nature – dominate the social landscape (approx. 55%), followed by yellow edges (approx. 35%)– designating social ties (e.g. friends, neighbors, colleagues, etc.) – and, lastly, blue edges (approx. 10%) – designating family ties (e.g. parents, siblings, spouses, etc.). Although family relationships are the least frequent in the network, they are nonetheless crucial, for at least two reasons. First, given the nature of the network (essentially a community of artists and collectors), the very presence of family ties is certainly possible, but by no means to be expected; if this aspect is taken into account, the number of familial connections reads, in fact, as remarkably high. Second, building on Mark Granovetter's argument for the "cohesive power of weak ties,"[172] it can be argued that the japoniste network was significantly

[172] Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," in *American Journal of Sociology*, 1973, p. 1360.

strengthened by the high degree of overlap between the networks of those connected through family. In other words, those network members who connected through family ties would have connected otherwise, socially or professionally; the familial links often served to reinforce the interconnectedness of the social worlds of those related or betrothed. Also, in the case of spouses and godparents, social and/ or professional connections preceded or even led to the family connections. One such example is the marriage of Paul Burty Haviland and Suzanne Lalique-Haviland, who presumably met in the house of common friend Eugène Morand, known to both Paul and Suzanne because of their common interests in ceramics and Japanese art.[173] Another example is the union of Madeleine Burty, Philippe Burty's daughter, and Charles Haviland. Burty and Haviland knew each other and would have continued to circulate in the same circles, even if Charles and Madeleine had not married, but the family ties brought Burty closer to the world of contemporaneous ceramics, given Charles' Haviland & Co, and made Haviland more aware of the realm of art discourse, through his exposure to the insight and writings of his father-in-law.

In the network diagrams that track relationship types and the "maker"/ "mover" roles of network agents, the most central members of the network – according to either degree (**Fig.45**) or betweenness (**Fig.46**) – are easily identifiable by the large nodes and the many ties: Siegfried Bing, Felix Bracquemond, the Haviland & Co manufactory, the World's Fairs, and a few other collectors and ceramists like Raymond Koechlin and Ernest Chaplet. If these central figures are removed from the visualization, it becomes

[173] Iconographic entry and related literature, Suzanne Lalique's painting*, La partie de pocker*, 1933, Carnavalet Museum, accession no. CARP2368.

clear that the network ceases to exist as a cohesive community (**Figs. 47 & 48**). In particular, the images based on this hypothesis show that several key groups – ceramists, collectors, and artists and writers who were significantly shaped by japoniste ceramics – become entirely disengaged from one another. This exercise of imagination highlights not only the indispensible role of those identified as most connected, but also the importance of their visibility within the network. For example, in addition to the brokerage of objects and information in which Hayashi was involved, what contributed to his authority and reputation was the degree to which other dealers and collectors were aware of his professional trajectory, credentials, and friendships and collaborations in both France and Japan. As Joel Podolny noted, "the presence (or absence) of a tie (…) between two (…) actors is an informational cue on which others rely to make inferences about the underlying quality of one or both of the (…) actors."[174] Being connected to the right people – for example, to Hayashi – was a form of validation for collectors and dealers, also strengthening the emergence of privileged outlets for information (e.g. S. Bing's *Le Japon Artistique*, the collections of H. Cernuschi and P. Jeanneney – particularly visible to French ceramists–, and organizations like the *Sociétéd des amis de l'art japonais*.)

This network shows how japoniste ceramics brought together disparate and opposite elements of the nineteenth-century French art world and thereby fueled and enabled cultural innovation. Its sociological analysis resonates with theories regarding structural holes and structural folds, according to which social capital results from the brokerage of connections between otherwise disparate realms, but it also suggests that the exchange of

[174] Joel Podolny, "Networks as the Pipes and Prisms of the Market," in *American Journal of Sociology*, 2001, p. 34.

information within and beyond the network relied upon an exchange of objects. The materiality and cultural identity of the objects that circulated in these circles – produced in Japan or in France in emulation of Japanese models - embedded value, offering the formal and conceptual basis for change in ceramics and in arts in multiple mediums. The circulation of objects often took the form of a literal exchange, as that between Hayashi and Collin (Hayashi received French paintings for Japanese ceramics). Premised on the interest in Japan and its aesthetic solutions, the ties between communities of ceramics collectors and communities of ceramists are inextricable from objects and the information they carried. Ceramics, in particular, are what Robert Finlay called "pilgrim art" and what is known, in science & technology literature, as "boundary objects." Ceramics-driven Japonisme in nineteenth-century France was a force of change because of a functional union of social ties, professional collaborations, and meaning-filled objects that circulated globally among key agents.

Beyond the study of ceramics and Japonisme, the contribution of this network analysis exposé builds on recent sociological theory that distinguishes among "boundary objects" (that invite collaboration), "epistemic objects" (that translate), and "activity objects" (that contribute to innovation).[175] Specifically, I propose that objects like French nineteenth-century japoniste ceramics represent a "super-category" in that they fulfill, to various degrees, all three of the above-mentioned functions: they are often the result of collaborations, have acknowledged models, and both reflect and fuel change in the definition and hierarchization of the arts. This analysis can be helpful to object-based art-

[175] Nicolini, Mengis and Swan, "Understanding the role of objects in cross-disciplinary collaborations" in *Org. Science*, 2012.

historical studies, inviting a sociological exploration of the communities and networks involved, and to other studies of networks, inviting a closer look to material culture and the objects that are/ were exchanged.

2.4. Between Local and Global: the Japoniste Circles of Limoges

Ever since its inception Japonisme presented a creative tension between local traditions and cross-cultural practices. Adding to this formative relationship was the simultaneous development of Japonisme across Europe, the U.S., and Japan itself. The final section of the current chapter focuses on one place of intersection – Limoges – and one medium – ceramics – to identify the local (Limoges's centuries-old ceramic history), the cross-cultural (French and Japanese influences), and the global (similar practices in other regions). From Berthe Morisot, whose father Tiburce founded Limoges's museum, to the Haviland brothers, whose Limoges studios produced innovative ceramics with versatile artists like Albert Dammouse, a constellation of producers, collectors, and curators inextricably connected Limoges, a centuries-old hub of French ceramics, with the increasingly global realm of japoniste ceramics. How does the Limoges tradition blend with a Paris-based Japonisme in Limoges-produced japoniste ceramics? And what was the international reception of these ceramics, from St. Louis, site of the 1904 Exposition Universelle, to Arita, where the ceramist Fukagawa Eizaemon was implementing not only technology that he had acquired in Limoges, but also japoniste motifs that he saw in new Limoges ware? Cross-regional and cross-temporal emulation was a driving force that bridged Japonisme and the latest modern art experiments, from early abstractionism to the ongoing revision of European hierarchies of genre and medium.

Of the many unusual aspects of this plate (**Fig.49**), the most salient appears to be its folded corners. Clay is malleable and allows for bending and folding; in that, the corners

of this plate draw attention to the object's materiality and emphasize its shallow thickness and geometry. Like the 19th-century viewers of this plate, we are most used to seeing folded corners on paper. How did this idea of folding clay come about? More than a transposition of a common occurrence from one material to the other, the idea is inspired by a centuries-old Japanese tradition of folded-corner porcelain. The different color of the other side of the plate, showcased by the folded corners, reminds the viewer that the plate has a front and a back, each with a different formal treatment, highlighting the multiple visual stimuli of the object. Achieved through underglaze barbotine, the convex border echoes the outer concave border, creating a subtle texture and stressing the materiality of the plate. Partly obliterated by the folded corner, the undulating vegetal motif – a quotation from French rococo – sprawls across the lower left section of the plate, crossing over from its outer frame to its inner section. Also playing with the object's relation to shape and material, the gilded star-like blossoms come in two sizes: larger ones on the border and smaller ones in the inner square. Because smaller objects appear to recede into the background, these two-sized motifs create the illusion of spatial depth.

Designed by the ceramist Albert-Louis Dammouse and produced by the cultural entrepreneur Charles Haviland at his manufactory in Limoges, this plate was part of a series, including this pitcher (**Fig.50**) that features the same vegetal motif and color

scheme.[176] The folded-corner aesthetic is present here, too, as the wall of the vessel bends over onto itself at the rim; made visible by these incursions of the other side on the outer layer of the vessel, the flipside is marked in the same darker color as the plate's folded corners. How different was this set of objects from other ceramic projects of their time and from the centuries-old Limoges tradition of tableware? The off-center placement of the main decorative motif paralleled other ceramics, like this plate from the Pouyat manufactory of Limoges (**Fig.51**), produced in the same year. Fashionable across media, the late nineteenth-century taste for the asymmetric and the fragmentary was a break with the longstanding tradition of symmetrical and concentric decoration, as seen on this eighteenth-century platter (**Fig.52**) produced by the normative Limoges manufactory led by the count of Artois.

The Dammouse-Haviland plate combines French rococo elements, like those of this 1755 Vincennes plate (**Fig.53**) with the Japanese folded-corner porcelain tradition, as exemplified by these square Arita plates (**Fig.54**). A wave on the Vincennes plate and a vegetal structure on the Dammouse-Haviland plate, the motif central to both objects is asymmetrically placed, seemingly sprawling across the surface from the lower left section. However, unlike the Vincennes plate, where the shape of the object echoes the undulating form of the wave, the Dammouse-Haviland plate contrasts the flowing vegetal

[176] Like other objects in the set featuring the same decorative program, this plate was retailed, in New York, by Davis Collamore and Company as of 1879. These Dammouse-Haviland-Collamore plates bear the mark: "Davis Collamore & Co/ Broadway and 21st Street/ New York." According to object and object-related file, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Davis Collamore (1820-1887) was one of the first and most influential dealers of japoniste European, and later American, porcelain and glassware, bridging French-British Japonisme with American japoniste expressions (including Rookwood pottery).

motif with the square format of the object. The folded corners both counter and intensify this tension between curved and straight.

The double emulation of Japanese ceramics and French eighteenth-century formal vocabulary is present in many japoniste projects, including the 1866-67 Bracquemond-Rousseau table service (see Chapter 3). This multicultural combination, in the Bracquemond-Rousseau set as on Dammouse's plate, is apparent in the aesthetic program of the objects. Another plate designed by Dammouse for Haviland (**Fig.55**) presents the same square, folded-corner format, but the motif is a more direct bird-and-flower reference. Is that motif drawn from Chinese or Japanese ceramics or from eighteenth-century French soft-paste porcelain? Identifying the source of inspiration is not always straightforward. What are we to make of these two plates (**Fig.56**) both dating from around the mid-eighteenth century? Although one is from Arita and the other is from Limoges, both present a variant of the East Asian bird-and-flower genre, with thistles and a butterfly decorating the Japanese plate and flowers and a fly decorating the French plate. The concurrent use of the bird-and-flower motif in France and Japan was both a matter of cross-cultural influence (i.e. French eighteenth-century japonaiserie) and of similar formal expression (as discussed in the last section of Chapter 1).

Dammouse's plate was not singular in pushing the limits of what was acceptable. From images inspired by Japanese prints (**Fig.57**) to non-representational motifs (**Fig.58**) and from the emulation of other materials like bronze and lacquer (**Fig.59**) to new glazes (**Fig.60**), especially in the work of Ernest Chaplet, the ceramic production of late-

nineteenth-century Limoges – predominantly japoniste at some level – was at the forefront of modern formal experiments. Limoges ceramics embraced abstraction and rough textures that emphasized the materiality of the object, paralleling what artists like Manet and Whistler were doing in the realm of painting. Ceramics functioned as an alternative outlet for the crystallization of such ideas and techniques. In his own work and in collaboration with artists like Paul Gauguin,[177] Ernest Chaplet combined new formal elements that were ceramics-specific (e.g. new types of glazes like the sang-de-boeuf glaze) with aesthetic values that were trans-medial (e.g. distancing from representation, emphasis on surface, adoption of historicist and/ or cross-cultural motifs).

A friend and collaborator of Ernest Chaplet and the son of a porcelain painter at the Sèvres manufactory, Dammouse was educated at both the Ecole Nationale des Arts Décoratifs and the Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts. Consistent with his training in both decorative and fine arts, his work in ceramics and later in glass was influential across media, from tableware to oil painting, due to his diverse connections in the art world, including his brother Edouard Dammouse – a ceramicist himself – and his employer and the producer of the folded-corner plate – Charles Haviland. Dammouse and Haviland, as we have seen in the previous section of the current chapter, were prominent members of a tightly knit international network of japoniste agents, including artists, dealers, critics, and collectors. To situate the Limoges circle in this constellation of social bonds, we will

[177] Gauguin, like Picasso, produced ceramics, besides the better-known paintings and sculpture. A comprehensive catalogue of Gauguin's ceramics that illuminates his multi-medial approach and multicultural motifs, including Buddhist myths, is Christopher Gray's *Sculpture and Ceramics of Paul Gauguin* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1963).

review some of the most salient familial, social, and professional links that put Limoges squarely on the global map of japoniste innovation.

Limoges was directly connected to the Parisian and international circles of Japonisme through one of its natives, Tiburce Morisot (**Fig.61**), best remembered as the father of the Impressionist painter Berthe Morisot, the sister-in-law of Edouard Manet. Tiburce had a respectable career as a government official, although his political protests cost him more powerful positions.[178] A group portrait painted by Manet that the artist offered to his friend, the japoniste painter Giuseppe de Nittis, presumably depicted Edma Pontillon, Berthe's sister, Edma's child, and Tiburce, Edma's and Berthe's father.[179] Tiburce is also remembered as the founder, in 1845, of the first museum of Limoges. For this institution, Tiburce Morisot ambitioned an encyclopedic scope and therefore amassed paintings, sculptures, and various other art objects, all sourced from the Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin – an association that he founded in the same year for the preservation of the region's cultural heritage.[180]

Twenty years after Tiburce Morisot had founded the Limoges museum, in 1865, Adrien Dubouché took over the leadership of the museum and re-oriented its mission to emphasize what Limoges was best known for – namely, ceramics. Well connected in

[178] Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 5-8.

[179] Manuela Moscatiello, *Le Japonisme de Giuseppe de Nittis: un peintre italien en France à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Bern; New York: Peter Lang, 2011), p. 105.

[180] *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, vol. 130, p. 110.

Paris and a dedicated collector, Dubouché bought the collections of Japanese ceramics of Paul Gasnault and of the ceramic historian Albert Jacquemart; he later donated both collections, as well as his own, to the museum (now bearing his name).[181] In 1869, on the occasion of a major exhibition at the Musée Oriental (of the Union Centrale des Arts appliqués à l'Industrie/ "Central Union for Arts applied to Industry"), Dubouché played an active role in the selection of works with which the École des Beaux-arts de Limoges participated in the show, emphasizing the "fundamental role of East Asian ceramics as model" to be emulated along with European classics, especially in terms of ornament and decorative solutions.[182] Both for the 1869 exhibition and for the galleries of the Limoges museum, Dubouché curated a combined display of Chinese and Japanese ceramics and of French contemporaneous japoniste ceramics.[183] Like fellow collectors Henri Cernuschi and Paul Jeanneney, Dubouché recognized and promoted (and, in his case, institutionalized) the emulation of East Asian ceramics as the optimal path for rejuvenating and advancing French arts across mediums.

Another native of Limoges and a colleague of Berthe Morisot, Auguste Renoir started his artistic career as a decorator for the porcelain-painting workshop of M. Levy in Limoges. The japoniste aspects in Morisot's and Renoir's respective oeuvres are well documented, from Morisot's adaptation of some ukiyo-e themes and compositional structures to

[181] « Musée Adrien Dubouché Limoges: Cité de la Céramique », dossier de presse, pp. 4-20.

[182] Adrien Dubouché, *École gratuite des Beaux-arts appliqués à l'Industrie* (Paris: J. Claye, 1869), p. 14. Also: Adrien Dubouché, *Notice sur les écoles gratuites des beaux-arts [de Limoges] appliqués à l'industrie*, 1869.

[183] « Musée Adrien Dubouché Limoges: Cité de la Céramique », dossier de presse, pp. 4-20.

Renoir's emulation of the emphasis on surface and ornament in Japanese visual arts.[184] The two artists also displayed a lifelong interest in porcelain. Renoir's legacy was carried on by his students, including the Japanese painter Umehara Ryūsaburō (1888-1986). Umehara met Renoir in 1909, studied with him for two months, and befriended him and his family; in subsequent decades, in Japan and internationally, Umehara talked and wrote about Renoir's Limoges beginnings and his ties to Japonisme.[185]

From the porcelain-painting atelier of M. Levy, where Renoir was employed, to Haviland & Co, Limoges has known, to this day, a high density of porcelain producers, many of which contributed to Japonisme. Industrialization helped Limoges-based ceramic activity, especially in the 1870s and 1880s. According to historian John Merriman, chemical discoveries and new technologies improved the efficiency of production and the quality of the porcelain, although mechanization and the high costs of machinery adversely affected potters, rendering them unnecessary or drastically reducing their salaries.[186] Haviland & Co prospered in Limoges, competing successfully with older and smaller companies and overseeing the construction of several factory buildings and kilns,

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[184] J. Criss, "Japonisme and beyond in the art of Marie Bracquemond, Mary Cassatt, and Berthe Morisot, 1867–1895," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2007; Okumura Yukiko, "Redefining Japonisme: Discerning the Impact of Japanese Art in the Work of Berthe Morisot," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1994; Yamada C. ed., *Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium* (Tokyo, 1980).

[185] Shimada Hanako, *Umehara Ryūzaburō to Runowāru: zōho Runowaru no tsuioku* 梅原竜三郎とルノワール：増補ルノワルの追憶 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2010); Umehara Ryūsaburō, *Runowaru no tsuioku* ルノワルの追憶 (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō, 1952).

[186] John Merriman, *The Red City: Limoges and the French Nineteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 169.

especially from 1865 to 1896.[187] The success of the Haviland & Co in Limoges cannot be overestimated; the company had over a thousand employees and exported hundreds of thousands kilograms of porcelain to the United States alone.[188] The manufactory was not only one of the most successful modern businesses in nineteenth-century France, but also a catalyst for change in the arts and an active participant, through its directors and featured ceramists, in the shifting discourse on decorative and applied arts.

The Havilands' connection to Limoges began in 1840, when David Haviland, owner of a porcelain shop in New York City, traveled to France for the first time and chose to open a business, for the American market, in Limoges. His sons, Charles and Theodore, would dedicate their careers to the porcelain business. Charles took over his father's company after his brother Theodore had been sent to Limoges to administer marketing and distribution. Theodore eventually opened his own Company in 1893. Charles' company went out of business in 1931; Theodore moved his to the US in 1936, where it lasted until 1957. Along the way, Charles Haviland opened operations in Paris: at Auteuil, from 1873 to 1887, and in Vaugirard, on rue Blomet, from 1882 to 1887.[189] Haviland's enterprise connected Limoges with Paris and the United States and employed ambitious and well-connected artists like Felix Bracquemond and Ernest Chaplet to run its studios; they

[187] Frédéric Pillet, "Usine de porcelaine Haviland et Compagnie; puis usine de chaussures Heyraud, usine de meubles Arnaud, imprimerie Brégéras, usine d'emballage et conditionnement des Cartonnages Modernes." Dossier de patrimoine industriel (enquête partielle, commune de Limoges), Inventaire général, 2002.

[188] Michael Stephen Smith, *The Emergence of Modern Business Enterprise in France, 1800-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 292.

[189] Wallace Tomasini, *Celebrating 150 Years Of Haviland China 1842-1992* (Haviland Collectors International Foundation, 1992).

combined the French traditions of Sèvres and Limoges with the Japanese tradition of ceramic making and ornamentation.

Charles Haviland had one of the largest collections of Japanese ceramics in France; as scholar Imai Yuko noted, most of the pieces he collected were not porcelain, but raku ware and tea ceremony vessels,[190] reflecting his taste and, I would add, his openness to a wide range of aesthetic expressions, allowing him to nurture the different visions of Bracquemond, Dammouse, and Chaplet. As mentioned in the previous section of the current chapter, Charles Haviland married Madeleine Burty, the daughter of the critic and collector Philippe Burty. Charles and Madeleine had two sons. One, Frank Burty Haviland, became a Cubist painter and an art collector; he bought a monastery that would become the headquarters of the School of Céret, frequented by Picasso, Braque, and Gris. The other, Paul Burty Haviland, became a photographer and worked as associate director for *Camera Work*, the publication of Alfred Stieglitz, who strove, in the 1910s, to have photography recognized as a fine art. In their involvement with the avant-garde, Frank and Paul contributed knowledge of both Japanese ceramics and French japoniste ceramics. Frank and Paul continued to collect Japanese objects, including ceramics, some of which they donated to the Musée des arts décoratifs.[191] Frank is known to have visited the Cernuschi and Guimet museums to see East Asian art with Amedeo Modigliani

[190] Imai Yuko, "Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics," no. 16, p. 112.

[191] Inventaire, 8 mars 1924, Musée des arts décoratifs/ Archives Nationales; also: Gabriel Weisberg, *The Independent Critic: Philippe Burty and the Visual Arts of mid-Nineteenth Century France* (New York: P. Lang, 1993), p. 277.

(albeit partly in the context of seeking "primitive art" as inspiration);[192] Paul emulated Japanese aesthetic principles in his photographic prints.[193] However, Haviland's sons developed their own identities; Frank, for example, became one of the early collectors of African art. At first glance, the different collecting interests of father and son seem to neatly exemplify the well-known chronology of non-Western sources for modern art: Japanese arts during the Impressionist era, followed by African sculpture during the Cubist years (with post-Impressionists like Gauguin looking at both in between). This account is an oversimplification, as the story of Charles Haviland and his sons, Frank and Paul, points not merely to a generational divide, but rather to an integrated and fluid discourse on the adoption of new aesthetic and ethical values, complicated by family ties and professional connections that became increasingly global at the turn of the century.

The influence of Japanese ceramics in the Haviland Limoges production was not limited to Haviland's own collection. Charles also selected, as models for his products, East Asian objects that fellow collector Henri Cernuschi bought in Japan and brought back to Paris in the early 1870s.[194] It should be remembered that Cernuschi's travel companion in East Asia was none other than Théodore Duret, the art critic who wrote extensively about the Impressionists, including Berthe Morisot, Felix and Marie Bracquemond, both of

[192] Kenneth Silver, *Paris Portraits: Artists, Friends, and Lovers* (Greenwich, Conn.: Bruce Museum; New Haven; London: In association with Yale University Press, 2008), p. 119.

[193] Françoise Heilbrun, *Photography: Orsay* (Paris: Scala, 2003), p. 117.

[194] Vases produced by Haviland & Co emulated Chinese bronzes and Chinese and Japanese ceramics in the collection of H. Cernuschi, as seen in the exhibition of selected objects from his collection, organized in Paris in 1873, after Cernuschi and Duret had returned from East Asia. Museum file, Haviland & Co vase, Metropolitan Museum of Art (accession no. 23.31.14).

whom decorated Haviland ceramics, and Berthe's friend, Mary Cassatt, who bought Haviland ceramics from Limoges and Auteuil.[195] Besides the public display of selected objects from Cernuschi's collection in 1873 and reproductions in print of Cernuschi's bronzes and ceramics – some published in 1882 by a silversmith who also used Cernuschi's bronzes as models[196] –, Haviland would have been aware of, and connected with, Cernuschi via familial and social ties. Specifically, Haviland and Cernuschi had common friends, including Goncourt, Burty, Duret, and Manet, who, in 1875, painted Tama, the dog that Cernuschi had brought back from Japan (**Fig.62**).

As discussed in the second section of the current chapter, Cernuschi collected ancient Chinese bronzes and Japanese ceramics that emulated Chinese bronzes, in an effort to educate the French intellectual elite about Chinese cultural identity as seen through the lens of Japanese arts. Haviland was interested in this aspect of Cernuschi's collection; the ceramics he produced, like the vase seen here, drew inspiration from East Asian ceramics that emulated ancient Chinese bronzes, as he had seen in Cernuschi's collection. For example, the shape of this Limoges Haviland vase (**Fig.63**) was most likely modeled on a Chinese zun-type ritual bronze vessel in Cernuschi's collection, like this one (**Fig.64**) dating from the Shang dynasty. This kind of collaboration between collector and producer had a precedent in the eighteenth century, when the minister Bertin

[195] Theodore Duret (J. E. Crawford Flitch, trans.), *Manet and the French Impressionists: Pissarro--Claude Monet--Sisley--Renoir--Berthe Morisot--Cézanne--Guillaumin* (London, G. Richards, 1910).

[196] Emile Reiber (1826-1893), working for Christofle & Cie., published drawings of Cernuschi's Chinese and Japanese bronzes in his 1877 *The first volume of the Reiber Albums*. In 1882, he designed an animal-shaped teapot, inspired by a bronze in Cernuschi's collection. Museum file, E. Reiber Teapot, Musée d'Orsay (accession no. OAO 1012).

commissioned the Sèvres manufactory to produce a ceramic copy of an imperial Chinese bronze, based on a woodblock print from Qianlong's forty-volume collections catalogue (**Fig.65**).[197] The shape of Haviland's ceramic vessel is similarly modeled on the geometry of a Chinese bronze vessel, but the applied imagery – derived from the East Asian bird-and-flower tradition, often seen on both Chinese and Japanese porcelain and on European eighteenth- and nineteenth-century adaptations thereof – contrasts with that aesthetic. The juxtaposition calls to mind some raku ceramics which combine a material-conscious, rough texture with delicate painted motifs (**Fig.66**), with which Haviland and Dammouse would have been familiar, considering the many raku objects in Haviland's and others' collections. Also, the bird-and-flower motif reflects the interest in ornament – specifically, the effect of combining seemingly disparate images and supports –, of which Dubouché had written for the participation of the Limoges school in the 1869 exhibition of the Union Centrale des Arts appliqués à l'Industrie.[198]

Limoges also played a role in the circular aspect of Japonisme, namely, the influence of japoniste art, especially ceramics, on contemporaneous Japanese arts and crafts. To offer an example, the Koransha and Fukagawa porcelain workshops of Arita – led by different members of the same Fukagawa family – integrated an awareness of japoniste practices in their late nineteenth-century porcelain, especially that designed to be showcased at world's fairs. As Nakayama Seiki explained, in 1878, the ceramist Fukagawa Eizaemon exhibited at the World's Fair in Paris, made over 10,000 yen on ceramics he sold after the

[197] Object file for 'Vase Japon,' The Frick Collection, New York, accession no. 2011.9.01.

[198] Adrien Dubouché, *École gratuite des Beaux-arts appliqués à l'Industrie* (Paris: J. Claye, 1869), p. 14.

fair, traveled around Europe on a tour of contemporaneous ceramics that exposed him to japoniste trends, and acquired steam-powered ceramics equipment from Limoges that he brought back to Arita and implemented in his porcelain company, Koransha.[199]

The connections outlined so far represent only a fragment of a much wider network (see previous section). As this image shows (**Fig.67**), the majority of agents in this French network of japoniste ceramics lived and worked in Paris, which is hardly surprising. Noteworthy in what this image illustrates are two other aspects: first, the wide variety of sites around the world that the network reached (from small towns in France to Milan, London, and Moscow and from New York and Boston to Tokyo and Arita); second, the high concentration of individuals and organizations within the network who lived and/ or worked in Limoges. A microcosm of this international phenomenon, the Limoges-centered japoniste social network – represented here through key agents and their connections (**Fig.68**) – exemplifies the creative interplay of local and global manifestations of Japonisme in the realm of ceramics. Haviland & Co and the Pouyat manufactory, among other Limoges ceramic producers, exported ceramics, especially to the United States; the head of the Arita-based Kōransha manufactory toured Limoges and brought new technology and japoniste ideas to Japan; Bracquemond, Chaplet, and Dubouché, to name only a few, were equally prominent in Paris, where they belonged to the circles of dealers and collectors Hayashi and Bing, whose individual networks further expanded the international reach of Limoges-produced japoniste ceramics.

[199] Nakayama Seiki, *Arita yōgyō no nagare to sono ashioto: Kōransha hyakunen no ayumi*/ 有田窯業の流れとその足おと―香蘭社百年の歩み (Arita: Kōransha, 1980), pp. 40-43.

This international exposure influenced local production and inspired Limoges potters, to this day, to renegotiate the interrelationships between tradition and current needs, technologies, and fashions. World's Fairs represented a privileged site of global conversations; for example, as Moyra Pollard noted, at the 1889 World's Fair, both Ernest Chaplet and the Japanese ceramist Makuzu Kozan (who was awarded a gold medal) featured ceramics that emulated Chinese glazes; without hesitation, fair critics compared the respective efforts of these two potters.[200] This engagement with the respective works of Ernest Chaplet and Makuzu Kōzan in a comparative mode that acknowledged common efforts and ideals brought together japoniste and Japanese contemporaneous ceramics, both literally and at the level of discourse.

In light of this brief analysis of the Limoges japoniste social make-up and its international ties, I suggest that the social conditions of production and the aesthetic attributes of the Dammouse-Haviland plate reflect the creative tension of local history, cross-cultural influences, and an increasingly global context. Re-inserting an object like this plate in the context of the social network in which it was produced and circulated illuminates its formal sources, its post-production life, and its impact in the art world. As models for the plate, Dammouse is likely to have drawn on Japanese ceramics in the collections of Charles Haviland (his employer), Henri Cernuschi (who offered models for Haviland & Co) or Paul Jeanneney (a ceramist himself and a collector who was often showing his objects to his peers). The plate and the other objects in the series were displayed and commercialized in Limoges and in Paris. Limoges ceramics reached a large and receptive

[200] Moyra Clare Pollard, *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu Kōzan (1842-1916) and His Workshop* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 64.

international community not only because of the valuable individual networks of Limoges agents like Haviland, but also due to the unique characteristics of Limoges as a site of production, display, and sociability. In line with Mario Small's sociological theory that emphasizes the central role that context and site play in the creation of meaningful social connections,[201] I suggest that local Japonismes were instrumental phenomena in the global impact that Japonisme had on changing art values in the late nineteenth century, due to the "unanticipated gains" – as Small put it – of local traditions and institutions. Limoges is a case in point, considering the unique combination of its ceramic history, traditional repertoire of motifs and techniques, and economic and intellectual resources. More or less anticipated, these advantages of working in Limoges fueled the social capital and creative potential of Limoges-based Japonisme.

The connection to porcelain of the town of Limoges forged, from the very beginning, an equally deep-rooted interest in East Asian arts and particularly Japanese ceramics. The Jesuit missionary François-Xavier d'Entrecolles, born in Limoges in 1665, fueled the eighteenth-century European quest for the secret of porcelain through his influential report on Chinese porcelain.[202] After the first fabrication of hard-paste porcelain in Limoges in 1771, the count of Artois was put in charge of the royal manufactory,[203] while

[201] Mario Luis Small, *Unanticipated Gains: Origins of Network Inequality in Everyday Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[202] François-Xavier d'Entrecolles (Père d'Entrecolles), Zhu, Yan, jin shi (1766), Stephen Bushell (trans., ed.), *Description of Chinese pottery and porcelain; being a translation of the T'ao shuo...* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1910).

[203] Chantal Meslin-Perrier, *La Porcelaine de Limoges* (Paris: Editions Jean-Paul Gisserot, 2006), p. 6.

other workshops were founded throughout the nineteenth century. Integral to the development of Limoges are its ties to Sèvres – the other major center of state-sanctioned porcelain manufacturing– and to the eighteenth-century entrepreneurs known as marchands-merciers who dealt in Chinese and Japanese porcelain. Although the symmetry and arabesque motifs of historical Limoges pieces seem different from, if not antithetical to, japoniste ceramics, they had more in common than formal elements alone may lead to believe. Both drew on creative misunderstandings of Japanese arts. It was only after the establishment of direct trade and diplomatic relations between France and Japan in 1858 that misconceptions began to be corrected; Japonisme gradually replaced 18th-century chinoiserie and japonaiserie with a combination of Japanese influences and quotations from older French art.

Limoges japoniste ceramics were rooted in local history, combined japoniste and rococo revival elements, and emphasized shared aspects of the French and Japanese traditions of ornamentation. They featured cross-medial and cross-cultural emulation and a playful use of 'meta' elements – like the folded corners – that drew attention to the object's materiality. In a global context stimulated by diplomatic relations, increased international travel, and the World's Fairs, the interplay of local and cross-cultural values fueled the status of Limoges as a ceramics hub for artistic and cultural innovation.

Chapter 3
Japoniste Ceramics and Self-Referentiality

3.1. Self-Referentiality: A Key Aesthetic Principle

Self-referentiality is generally understood as the quality by which something contains references to itself. I use self-referentiality to denote an element in a work of art that draws attention to itself as art, whereas "art" is understood here as encompassing the full spectrum of art and craft, fine art and decorative art, and art and design. Most definitions capture the notion that self-referentiality undoes "the traditional pretense that art is a direct transcription of reality" and instead "encourages the audience to keep aware that what they are consuming is an artifact (a creation using artistic methods)."[204] Self-referentiality is a feature—some say the defining feature—of modernism. However, self-referentiality predated the emergence of modernism, as it had been present for centuries in cultural products from around the world. In East Asian art, self-referentiality represents a key aesthetic principle.

The self-referential dimension in Japanese objects and images takes many forms, such as: ceramics that bear images of ceramics (as described in the last section of this chapter) or feature the processes of porcelain making (Figure 23); objects emulating other materials,

[204] Glenn Johnson, "Self-referentiality: The Meta-Level in Art," lecture, Department of English, The Catholic University of America. See also: W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Thierry De Duve, *Pictorial Nominalism: On Marcel Duchamp's Passage from Painting to the Readymade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

like the Mokubei-Cernuschi bowl presented in Chapter 2, or objects in the shape of other objects, animate or inanimate, such as this Edo-period lacquer incense box in the shape of a Mandarin duck (**Fig. 69**); and pictorial devices like *rusu moyō*, or absent-figure motif, and *gachūga*, or painting-within-painting, an example of which is this depiction of the "Kashiwagi" chapter in the *Tale of Genji*, by Tosa Mitsuyoshi, featuring sliding-door paintings of pine trees (**Fig. 70**). These wide-ranging artistic devices playfully remind the viewer about the materiality, objecthood, and artifice of the image at hand.

The connection between such practices and the viewer's awareness of materiality and process can be traced back to a Japanese notion that combines two forms of mediation: on the one hand, decoration, defined by Oleg Grabar as an intermediary between object and viewer[205] and, on the other, display, defined by Sharon Macdonald as an arena for the negotiation of knowledge and power.[206] This notion is that of *kazari* 飾り, used in the Japanese language for over a thousand years.[207] Unlike its Meiji-period synonym *soushoku* 装飾 – an old Chinese compounds brought back into use in late nineteenth-century Japan to describe emerging notions of art and aesthetics, in dialogue with Euro-

[205] Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[206] Sharon Macdonald, *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 2-3.

[207] Tsuji, "On Kazari" in Nicole Rousmaniere, ed., *Kazari: Decoration and Display in Japan, 15th-19th Centuries* (New York: Japan Society, 2002), p. 14.

American discourses[208] –, *kazari* functions more as an umbrella term for the many practices – some listed above – that infused a self-referential character in Japanese arts.

Ever since the sixth century AD, Japanese decoration entailed a cosmopolitan mix of Persian and Indian Buddhist influences, filtered through Tang Chinese interpretations.[209] Japanese decorative programs and motifs have been the locus of cross-cultural interplay, allowing artisans and workshops to reinvent the Japanese emulation of Chinese models – as expressed in architecture, sculpture, and palatial folding-screen painting – in other mediums ranging from lacquer to ceramics. As Kawai Masatomo has shown, the Japanese aesthetics of display, especially in medieval tea practice, combined Japanese elements (*wa* 和) and Chinese elements (*kan* 漢) in a conscious effort to mutually potentiate the two by means of direct juxtapositions and unexpected combinations.[210] In terms of self-referentiality, this practice of using decorative vocabulary to work out the tension between emulation and imitation of Chinese sources transformed decoration into an intellectual site for the negotiation of cultural identity. The *wakan* 和漢 duality is at work in Arita porcelain decorated with a combination of Japanese and Chinese motifs or in the case of "famous objects" (*meibutsu* 名物) displayed in tea ceremony settings, such as Chigusa (**Fig. 71**), a fourteenth-century Chinese jar given a Japanese name that evoked

[208] Tamamushi Satoko, "Concepts of 'Decoration' in Early Modern Japan: Sōshoku and Kazari" in *Kazari: Decoration and Display* (2002). See also the discussion of terms and translations regarding self-reference and decoration in Japanese arts in the second section of Chapter 4.

[209] Tsuji, "On Kazari," p. 15.

[210] Kawai Masatomo, "Reception Room Display in Medieval Japan" in *Kazari: Decoration and Display* (2002), p. 41.

imagery from Japanese literature.[211] The co-existence of such features in one object challenged the identity of the object and became a "form of self-expression."[212]

Self-expression is often achieved through material self-referentiality, guaranteed, in decoration, by decoration's ontological dimension of non-representation. According to Grabar, abstraction and decoration are often synonymous; he argues that abstraction refers to the nature of what is rendered, namely a self-referential mark or, at least, a mark with no representational or narrative content, while ornament refers to the placement and role of what is rendered, i.e. an attachment meant to "embellish" without any structural or functional role.[213] According to this distinction, abstraction and decoration function similarly in terms of their relation to representation, but diverge in their respective spatial relationships and roles as things in the world. Japanese objects that fall under the generous category of *kazari* present both abstract and decorative aspects, but what results from these combined aspects is not only the long-celebrated emphasis on the surface,[214] but also an autonomous set of meanings built on a rich constellation of cultural and

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[211] The jar's name, Chigusa 千草, literally means "thousand grasses," which is a reference to classical Japanese waka poetry, and perhaps even to a specific poem by the influential poet and anthologist Ki no Tsurayuki (872-945 AD) of the Heian period. See: Edwin Cranston, *A Waka Anthology: Grasses of Remembrance* (Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 50.

[212] Melissa McCormick, "Purple Displaces Crimson: The Wakan Dialectic as Polemic" in Dora Ching and Louise Cort, eds., *Around Chigusa: Tea and the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton University Press, 2017), p. 183.

[213] Grabar, pp. 21-25.

[214] I am referring to the well-researched interest of French painters, including Manet, Degas, Monet, Morisot, and Cassatt, in Japanese ukiyo-e woodblock prints, which provided models for refocusing attention on the surface as the material and visual reality of painting. See: Colta Feller Yves, *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980); Anne Higonnet, "Manet and the Multiple", *Grey Room* 48 (2012).

literary references. For nineteenth-century European and, later, American collectors of Japanese *kazari* objects, their increasing familiarity with Japanese cultural themes and motifs allowed them to see that the playful self-referentiality that they intuitively felt in Japanese objects – the "fantaisie" that Gonse described in *L'art japonais*[215] – derived from a different, non-illusionistic, type of representation, one that was dense with stimulating associations of ideas.

Such types of imagery include the following: *mitate* 見立て, with its cousins *nise-e* 似絵 and, more generally, *nazoraeru* 準える/ 擬える; *karumi* 軽み; *tsukurimono* 作り物; and *kazari* itself, with the related principles of *kirei* 奇麗 and *hime* 媛. Each of these notions has been translated in Western languages with a number of closely related terms, which helped elucidate meanings, but also revealed how challenging it is to adequately describe these concepts, and how elusive to properly translate. (The second section of Chapter 4 explores such terms in translation and their impact on the emerging "history" of Japanese arts in Japan, France, and England.) In this section, the focus is on the visual and material embodiment of this constellation of notions.

Translatable as allusion or metaphor, *mitate* is a playful association of ideas involving the refashioning of a theme through the lens of a different theme, such as depicting a

[215] Gonse's concept of "fantaisie" in relation to Japanese art in his book *L'art japonais* (1883) is discussed at length in the second section of Chapter 4.

bodhisattva in the guise of a prostitute (**Fig. 72**)[216] or repurposing a Chinese jar to fulfill a double function of storage and display in Japanese chanoyu practice (Figure 71). As Timothy Clark demonstrated, the clash of registers in the refashioning exercise (e.g. presenting the sacred in guise of the worldly) is not only tongue-in-cheek, but also based on a cultural history that endows the pair with a set interpretation (e.g. one should not make any assumptions, as even a prostitute can be a Buddha), inserted into the image for the informed viewer to enjoy.[217] At the core of this aesthetic principle is a layer of meaning that disrupts simple representation, making the viewer aware of the symbolic potentiality of the image. In other words, *mitate* is not representation, but re-presentation. This dimension of semblance draws attention to the image as image, adding a constitutive element of self-reference or, as Werner Wolf defined it in the field of literary theory, meta-reference.[218]

This observation can be made of inexact copies as well, namely images and objects emulating other images and objects, a practice known in Japan as *nise* (translated as imitation, emulation or simulacrum). This aesthetic device informed, for example, the ceramic production of Aoki Mokubei, including Cernuschi's Mokubei bowl imitating Chinese bronzes or Chinese ceramics that in turn had imitated Chinese bronzes (Figure 25). *Mitate* and *nise* are most often associated with what can be described as "realistic

[216] Timothy Clark, "Prostitute as Boddhisattva: The Eguchi Theme in Ukiyo-e", *Impressions* 22 (2000). The terms I used to describe mitate have been proposed by Alfred Haft, Timon Screech, and Marc Keane, among others.

[217] Clark, "Boddhisattva as Prostitute," pp. 37-39.

[218] Werner Wolf, ed., *Metareference across Media: Theory and Case Studies,* Studies in Intermediality series, no. 4 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009)

portraiture" of historical figures as well as of animals such as horses; in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Japan, *nise-e* referred to a seemingly "realistic" representation of poets and courtiers whose actual likenesses were not known.[219] For example, this imaginary, yet individualized portrait of the tenth-century poet and courtier Fujiwara Kiyotada, painted in the thirteenth century as part of a handscroll depiction of the 36 "immortal poets" illustrates the combination of *nise-e* and *kasen-e* 歌仙絵 ("images of immortal poets") of the Kamakura period (1185-1333) (**Fig.73**). As in this portrait, at the core of *nise* was an acknowledged disconnect between the reality of times and figures of the past and the reality of the image that reimagined the past.

This kind of tension is often paired with a sense of lightheartedness and playfulness, known as *karumi.* The term developed in seventeenth-century haikai poetry circles as a literary device that gradually permeated pictorial expressions. Even the standard dictionary definition of the term traces it back to the teachings of haikai master Basho (1644-1694), designating it as the poetic recognition of layers of meaning that are only subtly visible beyond appearances.[220] The interest in *karumi* in Japanese poetry found its way in the visual arts as early as 1690. A reformer at a time when the rivaling Kano school had overshadowed the Tosa tradition, Tosa Mitsuoki (1617-1691) wrote a painting

[219] For Kamakura-period *nise-e*, see: Nakano Masaki et al, *Engie to nisee: Kamakura no kaiga, kōgei* 縁起絵と似絵：鎌倉の絵画・工芸 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1993). For later uses of *nise-e*, see, for example: Tezuka Miwako, "Imagine Again and Again: 'Copies of the Portrait of Minamoto no Yoritomo' by Yamaguchi Akira" in *Impressions* (2009); Karen Gerhart, "Visions of the Dead: Kano Tan'yū's Paintings of Tokugawa Iemitsu's Dreams" in *Monumenta Nipponica* 59, no. 1 (2004); Joshua Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: the Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

[220] Entry on "karumi" in *Kokugo Daijiten* 国語大辞典 (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1981).

treatise in which he urged artists to stimulate viewers' imagination by combining verisimilitude with the lightness and playfulness of *karumi*.[221] As John Rosenfield noted, Mitsuoki's endorsement of *karumi* sprang from his awareness of the popularity of the concept in literary circles.[222] The aspect of *karumi* that Mitsuoki emphasized, that of infusing representation with a playful layer of meta-referential meaning, re-centered pictorial practice on a mode of representation that was advertising itself as image – a practice that later Tosa[223] painters and Rinpa[224] artists cultivated.

As Tsuji has shown, related to the umbrella term of *kazari* is the notion of *furyū,* translatable as "elegant offerings" and denoting the refinement that was de rigueur at the imperial court since the Heian period; *furyū* encompassed modes of visual and material expression such as *mitate* (discussed above), *tsukurimono* (artificial re-creations of places and things)*, kirei* ("beautiful" but also "clean" and "reverent")*,* and *hime* ("princess" but also "small" in the sense of "cute" – a sense that has complex implications in contemporary Japanese arts and culture).[225] These types of "decoration and display," with

[221] John Rosenfield, "Japanese Studio Practice: The Tosa Family and the Imperial Painting Office in the Seventeenth Century" in *Studies in the History of Art* 38 (1993), p. 93; Tosa Mitsuoki, *Honchō gahō daiden* 本朝画法大伝/ "The Great Tradition of Japanese Painting" (1690).

[222] Rosenfield, "Japanese Studio Practice," p. 93.

[223] The Tosa school was founded in the Muromachi period (14th-15th centuries) and advocated yamato-e or painting rooted in the ancient traditions of Japan as opposed to Chinese cultural influences, integral to the identity of the rival Kano school.

[224] Rinpa is compound of Rin 琳, from Ogata Kōrin, and ha/ pa 派 (meaning "school"). Rinpa is an anachronistic term for a school founded by Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637) and Tawaraya Sōtatsu (d. c.1643) and later consolidated by Ogata Kōrin and his brother Kenzan. Unlike the Tosa and Kanō schools, Rinpa did not have a hereditary structure, but is known to encompass different artists with similar stylistic genealogies.

[225] Inuhiko Yomota, *"Kawaii" ron* 「かわいい」論 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2006, 2012).

their emphasis on the artifice of representation, have roots not only in courtly culture, but also in a variant of tea ceremony culture harkening back to Kobori Enshū (1579–1647), who modified the canonical *wabi–sabi* aesthetic (one of rustic simplicity and contemplation). His style came to be known as *kirei sabi* (translatable to "elegant simplicity").[226] These concepts describe visual aspects that encourage the viewer to think of the object as a reflection of its conceptual and material making.

This constellation of principles has shaped Japanese material culture through objects that either exemplify or react against such principles. The preoccupation with self-referentiality is germane to the logocentric character of Japanese language and cultural traditions. Across historical periods, the logocentric dimension was fueled by Chinese practices of playfulness in literature (e.g. self-reference and self-parody in the poetry of Song-period poet Su Shi, admired in Japanese literati circles) and material culture (e.g. imitation of ancient bronzes in ceramics, heightening the specificity of each medium – a practice used in Edo-period Japan by ceramists like Aoki Mokubei).[227] In Japan, the pursuit of self-referential meaning manifested itself across mediums and especially in ceramics, not in the least because of the usefulness, portability, and ritual that characterized this medium.[228]

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[226] Paul Varley, Isao Kumakura, *Tea in Japan: Essays on the History of Chanoyu* (University of Hawaii Press, 1989), p. 143.

[227] I am indebted to Professor Richard Wilson (International Christian University, Tokyo, Japan) for his insights on this topic. Personal email communication, September-October 2017.

[228] Sherman Lee, among others, noticed the pervasiveness, across media, and especially in ceramics, of the aesthetic principles of Japanese practices of decoration and display. Sherman Lee, *Japanese Decorative Style* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1961), pp. 8, 118.

The playfulness inherent in turning representation onto itself is only one facet of Japanese cultural and artistic playfulness, also manifested in the paintings of the so-called eccentrics – painters who were literally extraordinary, pushing the limits of what was acceptable, and introducing new elements. The playful and "eccentric" lineage of Soga Shohaku (1730-1781) and Ito Jakuchū (1716-1800) is – controversially – reclaimed by artists like Murakami Takashi and supported by influential scholars like Tsuji Nobuo.[229]

The pervasiveness of such practices in Japanese material culture, especially during the Edo period, made Western collectors of the nineteenth century aware of a consistent use, in Japanese arts, of meta-levels of viewer engagement. As we will see, both in the remainder of this section and in the next chapter, the objects collected in France in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a preference for self-reference and playfulness. This interest was shaped by a mix of intuitive and informed responses entailing sustained looking at relevant objects and fragmented exposure to Japanese historical conceptualizations, as provided by Hayashi, Wakai, and Ninagawa.

The Japanese ceramics in late-nineteenth-century French collections featured elements of *mitate* or *tsukurimono*. Richard Wilson wrote, with regard to the ceramics of Nonomura Ninsei, that "we witness a transfer of imagery from longer-standing Kyoto crafts such as musical instruments, folding fans, patterned stationery, Buddhist altar fixtures, and

[229] Tsuji Nobuo, *Kiso no keifu* 奇想の系譜 (translated as *Lineage of Eccentrics*), first published in 1970; also: Murakami Takashi, "The Superflat Manifesto" (Tokyo, Madra, 200).

imperial regalia into ceramic forms and surface decoration;" Wilson adds, "the cross-referencing itself resonated with an older custom of playful display known as *mitate* or *tsukurimono*, first developed at court but gradually practiced by warlords and merchants alike."[230] Attributed to Ninsei, ceramics that matched this description could be seen in at least ten French collections – those of Pierre Barboutau, Siegfried Bing, Philippe Burty, Henri Cernuschi, Antoine de la Narde, Adolphe and Clémence d'Ennery, Charles Haviland, Hayashi Tadamasa, Raymond Koechlin, and Georges Petit. In his *book L'art japonais* of 1883, Gonse included an illustration of a bowl attributed to Ninsei, from Petit's collection (**Fig. 74**); from the two-dimensional reproduction one can discern that the bowl featured a lush and craquelé surface texture and an overlaid Buddhist-themed painting of the sixteen lohans, literally superimposing two Japanese traditions, that of tea ceramics and of Chinese-style ink painting. The high visibility of Ninsei-attributed and Ninsei-like pieces like the one illustrated in Gonse's book showcased the combination of rich glazes with minimal, roughly applied surface decoration, characteristic of Ninsei and later Kyoto-area ceramists like Mokubei and Kenzan. A Ninsei-type bowl similar to Petit's, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, belonged to the American painter Samuel Colman (1832-1920), who studied art in Europe in the 1860s and again in the 1870s and formed a collection of Chinese and Japanese pottery (**Fig. 75**). The surface of this vessel bears an image, in polychrome enamel, of a sencha tea gathering, creating a mise-en-abime of the bowl's function and its decoration.

[230] Richard Wilson, *The Potter's Brush* (Washington: Freer, 2001), p. 46.

A look at contemporaneous displays of ceramics from the collections of Pierre Barbouteau and Siegfried Bing, both of whom collected widely (see Table 4 in Chapter 2), offers a rich variety of examples of playfulness and meta-reference in Japanese ceramics. For example, this illustration from Barboutau's collection catalogue (Figure 27) shows a selection of Kyoto ware and raku ware, including a Mokubei-attributed teapot imitating a Chinese porcelain form, not unlike Cernuschi's Mokubei tea bowl analyzed in the previous chapter. Similarly to how the Mokubei teapot embeds a conversation with an imaginary past and an imaginary China, some of the objects surrounding the teapot draw attention to their artifice by having been given shapes from the natural world. Others draw attention to their materiality and the firing process through thick irregular glazes that fully or partially cover their surfaces. This bowl with two panthers (**Fig. 76**), produced in Bourg-la-Reine by the japoniste ceramist Adrien Dalpayrat, clearly responds to the Japanese ceramics in collections like Barboutau's, resonating with the shapes of the sixth object on the second row and the second object on the fourth row in the above-mentioned display case (Figure 27). In its approach to glazing, Dalpayrat's bowl echoes the treatment of several ceramics in that Barboutau display, especially the second object on the first row and the first and second objects on the last row. A similar display of ceramics that are equally in dialogue with natural forms, with other mediums, and with Chinese artifacts, drawn from Bing's collection and included in Louis Gonse's *L'art japonais*, exemplifies the inventiveness and playfulness that Gonse found at the core of Japanese arts across mediums (**Fig.77**). Although not identified as such at the time, this playful, lighthearted, meta-referential level can be described as *karumi*.

The many self-referential concepts and aesthetic devices explored in this section were not known as such by French collectors, artists, and critics, but the French discourse on Japanese arts reflected an intuitive recognition of such practices, especially pertaining to the "decorative arts." As early as 1868, the art critic Ernest Chesneau characterized the inventiveness of Japanese art through descriptors that loosely matched the concepts mentioned above. For example, he identified the lightheartedness of some Japanese images that bore the influence of *karumi*; Chesneau used the term "humeur railleuse," translatable as a disposition of making light of what is depicted. [231] I am not in the least claiming that Chesneau was aware of *karumi*; however, his creative (mis)understanding of Japanese imagery is indicative of how French collectors and artists absorbed these notions through direct exposure to the object, without the mediation of any accompanying discourse. In that, the objects gained an additional layer of meta-referentiality, as they represented both the object of discourse and a form of discourse in itself, codified by French commentators like Chesneau.

The lesson of self-referentiality, gleaned from Japanese ceramics, became a key ingredient in late nineteenth-century French ceramics, within and beyond the japoniste context. For example, this plate by Théodore Deck, featuring a painting by François

[231] Ernest Chesneau, *Les nations rivales dans l'art; l'art japonais; de l'influence des expositions internationales sur l'avenir de l'art* (Paris: Didier, 1868), p. 422.

Ehrmann (1833-1910), speaks to the largely Orientalist fascination with Turkish themes and especially Deck's obsession with Iznik ware.[232] As Reinier Baarsen has noted, Ehrmann painted the odalisque next to a "Deck-like blue vase" that echoes not only the blue border of the plate, but also, I would add, the ceramic piece itself, as a reference to the medium as well as the author.[233] The blue of the depicted vase is simultaneously a fragment of the blue-themed decorative identity of the plate and a representation of the blue that Deck typically used in his ceramics. A "business card" for Deck's practice, the represented vase was also a clue to the artifice of that imagined realm that combined Deck's contemporaneous work, the fantasy of the odalisque, and references to Iznik ware along the border. As this plate exemplifies, the self-referential dimension of Japonisme became manifest in ceramic objects that reflected eclecticism, historicism, and the emulation of cultures other than that of Japan.

Deck featured this plate at the 1867 World's Fair in Paris, where Felix Bracquemond and Eugene Rousseau showed their collaborative work, namely a table service featuring motifs drawn from Hokusai's *Manga*. Self-referential in other ways, this table service makes the object of the following section of the current chapter. The simultaneous presence of objects like Deck's, as well as Bracquemond's and Rousseau's, at the World's Fair, where Japanese objects were also on display, led critics like Chesneau to

[232] Reinier Baarsen, *Paris 1650-1900: Decorative Arts in the Rijksmuseum* (Yale University Press, 2013), p. 543.

[233] Ibid.

conclude that a "cosmopolitan art" was emerging,[234] creating a channel for feedback loops of cross-cultural influence. This phenomenon will be explored in the third, and last, section of this chapter, through the lens of another table service and two monumental vases, produced by the Fukagawa manufactory in response to japoniste uses of East Asian aesthetic principles, and displayed at the 1900 Paris World's Fair.

[234] Chesneau, *Les nations rivales dans l'art; l'art japonais; de l'influence des expositions internationales sur l'avenir de l'art*, p. 464.

3.2. French Japonisme: The Bracquemond-Rousseau Table Service at the 1867 World's Fair

A wide-eyed lobster and two eggplants spill over the slanted edge of the plate (**Fig.78**). Contained by a featheredge rim, these perspectivally distorted motifs create the illusion of depth, but float in a neutral field that offers no spatial context. The plate is part of a ceramic table service designed by Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914) and produced by Eugène Rousseau (1827-1891) at the Montereau manufacture in 1866 (**Fig.79**).

This section of the current chapter aims to show that this ceramic table service blurred the line between the decorative and the fine arts. In line with the recent scholarship of Kjetil Fallan, Rebecca Houze, Grace Lees-Maffei, and others, according to whom "interdisciplinary interchange" lies at the core of design history,[235] I draw on multiple fields and sub-fields of intellectual inquiry, including art history, the history of art history, sociopolitical history, and the study of material culture.

This ceramic service is an exemplary product of a network of producers, designers, critics, and collectors whose radical work contributed to the emergence of modern art. To substantiate this claim, I explore this set of objects not only in terms of material production, but also in terms of the cultural activities that enabled or affected its making and reception. I therefore hope to emphasize the relationship between design and society

[235] Kjetil Fallan, *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2010). Also: Grace Lees-Maffei and Rebecca Houze, ed., *The Design History Reader* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2010).

and the role that "decorative" artifacts play in forging and legitimizing new artistic values. Also, as my contention is that this ceramic service is symptomatic of a nineteenth-century revision of the status of the decorative arts, my paper aims to draw attention to the problematic nature of the current use of the term "decorative" in the field of art history, calling for a historically conscious re-evaluation of what we call what we study.

The making, display, and reception of the service

The first of many japoniste table services, it became a model for the following sets: the Lambert-Rousseau service (1873-1875), discussed in Chapter 4; 'Service plantes marines' (Leon Pallandre for Auteuil/ Haviland & Co./ 1874); 'Service foins et papillons' (Leon Pallandre for Auteuil/ Haviland & Co./ 1874); Service parisien (Felix Bracquemond for Auteuil/ Haviland & Co./ 1875-6); 'Service sujet japonais'/ 'Service 13 graces japonaises' (Felix Bracquemond for Auteuil/ Haviland & Co./ 1876); 'Service roses étteuillées' (Felix Bracquemond for Auteuil/ Haviland & Co./ 1876); the Kyoto service (1878-1884); 'Service rouge et or' (Jules Vieillard/ Bordeaux/ attributed to Amedée de Caranza/ 1878); 'Service animoux' (Felix Bracquemond for Auteuil/ Haviland & Co./ 1879); 'Service fleurs et rubans' (Felix Bracquemond for Creil et Montereau 1879-80); 'Services fleurs et graines' (Lisaac for Limoges/ Haviland & Co./ early 1880s); and 'Services fleurs parisiennes' (Girardin and Albert Dammouse for Limoges/ Haviland & Co./ 1883). Understanding the first of these japoniste sets can help illuminate the creative processes and sociocultural structures and mechanisms that enabled their production and fueled their critical and commercial success.

The making of the Bracquemond-Rousseau service was a complex undertaking that involved multiple authorial agents. In 1867, when the aforementioned Bracquemond-Rousseau service was on display at the World's Fair, the Creil and Montereau manufacture that produced it received a gold medal. Rousseau, who initiated, coordinated, and oversaw the production of the service, received a bronze medal. It has been speculated, not without merit, that Rousseau took offense at the unequal evaluation of the jury and decided to use any opportunity to explain the reasons for which the work of the marchand-éditeur is as worthy, if not more valuable than, that of the manufacture.[236] Financial considerations also played a role in Rousseau's interest in promoting the professional identity of the marchand-éditeur. Rousseau made 55,000 francs on the first edition of the service, while his collaborator Bracquemond – the fine artist whose designs decorated the set – received only 600 francs.[237] The fact remains that, more than a decade later, Rousseau encountered an ideal occasion for defining his professional identity and explaining the cultural role of the marchand-éditeur.

By the time Eugène Rousseau took over his father's ceramic and glassware shop in 1856, the business had changed its identity from a retail shop to a producing facility.[238] As a *marchand-éditeur*, Rousseau would commission "blank" pieces from ceramic manufactures and would employ artists who specialized either in the "fine" or the

[236] Slitine, p. 162.

[237] Goncourt, *Journal: Mémoire de la vie littéraire*, vol. 2, 1866-1886, p. 381.

[238] Jean-Paul Bouillon, Christine Shimizu, Philippe Thiebaut*, Art, industrie et Japonisme: le service 'Rousseau'* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), pp. 9-10.

"decorative" arts to design the two-dimensional decoration for these "blanks." As curator Louise Cort has noted, this process of using pre-bought blanks as support for ceramic decoration was widespread in both France and Japan, notably in Yokohama.[239]

In 1878, his ceramic and glassware business raised suspicions because, although he did not have a studio, he was producing glassware that necessitated a studio. An official committee overseeing the production of French glassware investigated Rousseau's activity. Rousseau wrote to the committee that he did not need a studio because he was using the studios of the artists and artisans whom he commissioned for the ceramic and glassware projects he envisioned.[240] In his address, Rousseau defined the *marchands-éditeurs* as "initiators," thereby emphasizing that these dealers were equally, if not primarily, the editors of their merchandise.[241] Rousseau also stressed the direct contact of the *marchands-éditeurs* with the public, to whose demands they typically responded.[242] This exchange between Rousseau and the official committee shows that Rousseau exemplified a new professional category that was difficult to define.

The collaboration between Rousseau and Bracquemond began in 1866. It was the *marchand-éditeur* who contacted the artist. According to their correspondence, in March

[239] Personal communication with Louise Cort, curator at the Freer/ Sackler Galleries, Washington, DC, April 11, 2016. Whether or not the French marchand-editeur practice of decorating pre-bought "blanks" was a precedent for the equivalent practice in Yokohama is yet to be explored.

[240] Rousseau, address to the Committee, 1878, BNF.

[241] Bouillon et al*, Art, industrie et Japonisme,* pp. 9-10.

[242] Ibid.

1866, Bracquemond served only as adviser to the project, commenting on the designs that Rousseau already had from another artist. By September, Bracquemond was in charge of designing new motifs for the service, which Rousseau approved and took to the Montereau manufacture.[243] There, workmen cut the etched motifs, placing them on the ceramic objects according to Bracquemond's instructions. In the process of firing the plates, the paper burned and the images transferred to the ceramic surfaces.[244]

The service turned out to be a massive enterprise. One set numbered more than a hundred pieces.[245] The 1885 sale document through which Rousseau sold his property to Ernest Leveillé (1841-1913), another *marchand-éditeur*, inventories forty-two models, comprising a variety of dishes, from platters and soup tureens to eggcups and butter keepers.[246] The life of the service continued after Rousseau's supervision had ended. As produced by Leveillé, the service received the gold medal at the World's Fair of 1889; under various names, it continued to be produced well into the 1930s.[247]

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[243] Bouillon et al*, Art, industrie et Japonisme,* pp. 11-13.

[244] Bouillon et al*, Art, industrie et Japonisme,* p. 14. Also: Alfred de Lostalot, « Artistes contemporains: M. Félix Bracquemond, peintre-graveur » in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, vol. 26, issue 29, 1884, series of three articles.

[245] G. Weisberg, "Rethinking Japonisme: the Popularization of a Taste" in *The Orient Expressed: Japan's Influence on Western Art, 1854-1918* (Mississippi Museum of Art, 2011), p. 20.

[246] Bouillon et al*, Art, industrie et Japonisme,* Annexe I, p. 43.

[247] Bouillon et al*, Art, industrie et Japonisme,* Annexe II, p. 43.

At its first display venue, the 1867 World's Fair, the service met with tremendous critical and commercial success (**Fig. 80**).[248] The Fair made the service available to an unprecedented number of visitors and to as many as 42,237 exhibitors from around the world.[249] I found that the Bracquemond-Rousseau set was emblematic of how international observers of the Fair described modernity through the lens of the event. For example, the British commentator Eugène Rimmel (1820-1887) bemoaned that the Fair featured too many fields and criticized the Fair's commercialism.[250] Rimmel could have as well been writing about the Bracquemond-Rousseau service. An artifact of its time, this ceramic table service shared the heterogeneous and commercial nature of the Fair.

The Japanese aesthetic of the Bracquemond-Rousseau set, upon which I will expand shortly, reflected the influential presence of Japanese art on the French market. At the 1867 World's Fair, Japan was represented both by the official shogunate and by the rebellious government of the province of Satsuma.[251] This situation brought to Paris a clear indication of the sociopolitical problems of the last years of the Tokugawa rule, marking the end of the Edo period before the Meiji Restoration. This double representation of Japan also provided Fair visitors with a wide range of Japanese art and

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[248] Weisberg, "Rethinking Japonisme: the Popularization of a Taste," p. 20.

[249] Eugène Rimmel, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1868), p. 6.

[250] Rimmel, p. 2.

[251] The rich literature on Japan's participation at World's Fairs and the politics of cultural display in a global context includes: Chelsea Foxwell, "Kano Hogai (1828-1888) and the Making of Modern Japanese Painting," PhD. diss., Columbia University, 2008; Angus Edmund Lockyer, "Japan at the exhibition, 1867-1970," PhD. diss., Stanford University, 2000; and Peter Kornicki, ed., *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic and Social History, 1868-1912* (NY: Routledge, 1998).

especially of Japanese ceramics. The 1867 Fair offered Japan an award for its ceramic ware.[252] As Rimmel noted in his contemporaneous account of the Fair, foreign competition stimulated the field of French ceramics.[253] According to Rimmel, the Creil and Montereau manufactures produced the "best specimens" of this new wave of innovative French ceramics, including the popular Bracquemond-Rousseau table service.

A nexus of eighteenth-century European ceramic decoration, Japanese aesthetic values, and Republican thought

Scholarly studies of the service, including those of Jean Bouillon, Laurent D'Albis, Christine Shimizu, and Gabriel Weisberg, begin with or emphasize the different names the service was given in its day. Pointing to the influence of eighteenth-century French decorative arts, the service was called "service Louis XV." In light of the influence of Japanese art, the set was called "service japonais." Mallarmé wrote that the service reflected "a translation of Japanese refined charm done by a very French spirit."[254] I understand the labels "service Bracquemond" and "service Rousseau" to point to the Republican sociopolitical network whose cultural agenda was performed through objects such as this set (see previous chapter). My claim is that the combination of these aspects, materialized in this set of objects, transformed the medium of ceramics into a locus of

[252] Rimmel, p. 18.

[253] Rimmel, pp. 86-87.

[254] "(…) traduction du haut charme japonais fait par un esprit très français." Cited in Slitine 2013, p. 158 and in Bouillon, *Félix Bracquemond 1833-1914, graveur et céramiste,* 2003, p. 68.

artistic innovation, strongly connected to emerging modernist idioms, and challenged the status quo of French medium hierarchies.

Service Louis XV

The evocation of eighteenth-century porcelain was apparent enough for the service to be advertised as Louis XV style. The featheredge rim, present on all plates in the Bracquemond-Rousseau service, was pervasive in eighteenth-century French and British ceramic design, an example of which is this Wedgwood plate from the 1780s (**Fig.81**). Laurens D'Albis argued that the use of the featheredge rim and the careful arrangement of apparently haphazardly placed motifs evoked the Louis XV style and the symmetry of traditional French ceramics.[255] D'Albis further argued that the reference to the previous century was a way of ensuring the future success of the production by adopting a safe and familiar aesthetic.[256] I join the line of thought of Jean Bouillon and others who proposed that the French eighteenth-century influence, by virtue of its combination with a strong Japanese art influence, is not reactionary, but modern.[257] This set of ceramic objects tested the degree of combinability of elements of French eighteenth-century ceramics and of Japanese art and, thereby, created a new aesthetic.

[255] Laurens d'Albis, "Les débuts du Japonisme céramique en France de Bracquemond à Chaplet" in *Sèvres*, no. 7, 1998, pp. 13-20.

[256] Ibid.

[257] Jean-Paul Bouillon, Chantal Meslin-Perrier, ed., *Félix Bracquemond et les arts décoratifs: du Japonisme à l'art nouveau* (Limoges, Selb-Plöbberg, Beauvais, 2005- 2006; Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2005).

The evocation of eighteenth-century French ceramics in the decoration of the service can be considered historicist; the influence of Japanese art on the service can be labeled as Japoniste. Historicism and Japonisme are both major conceptual frameworks for nineteenth-century French art. Edmond de Goncourt (1822-1896), whose book on eighteenth-century French art was instrumental in the Rococo revival, stated that he wanted to write a similar book about Japanese art. His goal was to write an "incisive and realistic description of things" through the lens of Japanese art.[258] Goncourt's combination of historicism and Japonisme in his thinking about art mirrored the convergence of these paradigms in the innovative collaboration between Bracquemond and Rousseau.

Service japonais

As previously noted, Japonisme has been understood largely in terms of the influence of Japanese woodblock prints on the facture and subject matter of French painting. I trace the influence of the Japanese aesthetic hierarchy that privileged ceramics in ways that prompted French artists to re-evaluate the French artistic canon.

Japanese art had been present in France for centuries before 1867. In the second half of the nineteenth century, after Japan and France established direct trade relations, dealers stopped using intermediaries such as the Dutch East India Company and started acquiring their merchandise directly from Japan. Some dealers, like Mary Beretta and Mme.

[258] Edmond de Goncourt, *L'art du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Hermann, reprinted 1967), p. 24.

Desoye, opened branches of their businesses in Japan.[259] As noted by Sarah Sik, in France, Japanese objects were geared toward French women.[260] James Tissot (1836-1902) illustrated this social phenomenon frequently in his paintings (**Fig.82**). At the core of this situation resided an understanding of the decorative arts, especially porcelain and fans, as feminine – a concept that goes back to the French eighteenth century. The Bracquemond-Rousseau service called that notion into question in ways that deserve a detailed examination in a future paper.

Champfleury (1820-1889) criticized the craze for Japanese things because he feared that artists found it easier to copy Japanese art than to find artistic paradigms of their own.[261] In 1868, Champfleury warned: "imitation is a comfortable chair."[262] In spite of the critical lens of this article, it should not be forgotten that Champfleury was an active member of a japoniste network of artists, producers, critics, and collectors who worked through the difficulties posed by the task of fully understanding the values that underlay

[259] A useful primary source on these nineteenth-century shops is: Didot-Bottin, *Annuaire-almanach du commerce et de l'industrie* (Paris et départements, annual publication). Secondary sources include: Manuela Moscatiello, *Le Japonisme de Giuseppe De Nittis: un peintre italien en France à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011); Gabriel and Yvonne Weisberg, *Japonisme: an annotated bibliography* (New York: Garland Pub., 1990); and Phylis Anne Floyd, "'Japonisme' in Context: Documentation, Criticism, Aesthetic Reactions," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1983.

[260] Sarah Sik, "'Those Naughty Little Geishas': The Gendering of Japonisme" in *The Orient Expressed: Japan's Influence on Western Art, 1854-1918* (Mississippi Museum of Art, 2011), pp. 107-126.

[261] C.-Y. (Champfleury), "La mode des japoniaiseries" in La *Vie parisienne*, Nov. 21, 1868, pp. 862-863.

[262] Ibid.

Japanese art. Shaped by this process, these cultural agents arrived at innovative solutions that reformed French art values.

A friend of Champfleury and a regular visitor of Japanese art shops, Bracquemond was the first to "discover" the *Manga* (first published in Japan in 1814) – an anthology of prints by Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) that influenced Bracquemond so greatly that he decided to quote it directly in the Rousseau service.[263] As has become common knowledge in japoniste studies, Bracquemond may have come across the *Manga* in the printmaking shop of his collaborator Auguste Delâtre. Bracquemond may have become acquainted with this multivolume work because the *Manga* was used in Japan as wrapping paper for export porcelain and arrived as such in Parisian shops that offered East Asian merchandise.[264] Bracquemond used Hokusai motifs for the service, but decided on the placement and combination of all elements, either borrowed or invented, according to his vision. Also, in the realm of Japanese art, Hokusai's artistic vocabulary was only one of several sources of inspiration for Bracquemond. Japanese art in multiple media had been available to French artists before the discovery of the *Manga*.[265] Bracquemond was familiar with Japanese imagery from his exposure to private collections such as those of his friends Philippe Burty (1830-1890), Champfleury, and

[263] Jean Paul Bouillon, *Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914: graveur et céramiste* (Paris, Somogy, Vevey: Cabinet cantonal des estampes, c2003).

[264] Colta Feller Yves, *The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980). Also, for information on Bracquemond's etchings after Japanese models: Gabriel Weisberg, "Felix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration" in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 51, issue 3, 1969, pp. 277-280.

[265] Laurinda Dixon, "Trade and Tradition: Japan and the Dutch Golden Age" in *The Orient Expressed: Japan's Influence on Western Art, 1854-1918* (2011), p. 91.

Goncourt. Bracquemond was interested not only in Hokusai's manner of drawing, but also in Hokusai's categorizations of natural elements that decontextualized and isolated motifs (**Fig.83**). Like the *Manga*, the Bracquemond-Rousseau service featured a variety of plants, insects, fish, and birds. The disassociated flora and fauna motifs that Bracquemond emulated from Hokusai's prints find their roots in an Edo-period, 1760s phenomenon in Japanese haikai-no-renga poetry,[266] stimulating the reception and illustration of poetry with lists (and imagery thereof) that provided cross-sections or "samples" of the natural world which was to be "mirrored" poetically in literary diaries and linked verse sessions.

This mode of decoration stimulated the viewer's imagination. It encouraged the viewer to complete the picture, by providing a narrative or a poetic message that explained unusual motif pairings (such as the lobster and eggplants on one of the plates of the 1866 Bracquemond-Rousseau service). Such pairings are akin to the bird-and-flower genre in East Asian art, known to French japoniste artists from their exposure to Japanese paintings, prints, and ceramics in French collections. Nonetheless, by replacing the "bird" with a lobster and the "flower" with an eggplant, Bracquemond engaged in a playful twist of convention. This practice is seen in other japoniste ceramics as well, like Rodin's and Carrier-Belleuse's *Vase of the Titans* (see Chapter 4). This type of pictorial game was familiar to the French art lover from salon conversations and pamphlets that attempted to "decipher" the subject matter of works of art. However, historically, these mental and

[266] I am indebted to Professor Richard Wilson of the International Christian University (Tokyo) for suggesting this direction of thought.

written exercises were practiced in relation to the fine arts, particularly Salon painting, and not in relation to decorative objects such as a table service for everyday use.

The Bracquemond-Rousseau ceramic dinner set may share, with the Japanese imagery that inspired it, the aesthetic principle of *rusu moyō* 留守模様, freely understood as a type of non-figural or absent-figure pattern. Daniel Sastre de la Vega defined *rusu moyō* as a technique of depicting a literary, mythological, or historical scene in which objects (or elements of the natural world) evoke the presence of the human figures who are instrumental to that scene.[267] In Japanese art, this principle is employed across media, from large-scale folding screen paintings to small *netsuke* carvings. The numerous *netsuke* objects in French collections such as those of Henri Cernuschi (1821-1896) and Charles Ephrussi (1849-1905) suggest that these collectors may have known about *rusu moyō*. The folding screen *Yatsuhashi-zu* 八橋図 (Eight Bridges) by Ogata Kōrin 尾形光琳 (1658–1716) is an ideal illustration of the principle of *rusu moyō* (**Fig. 84**). The painting alludes to an absent figure – a literary figure, a dramatic character, or a popular actor – by relying on the beholder's knowledge and intellectual ability of associating the painted irises with a poem on irises in the *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (The Tale of Ise) or with a Noh play titled *Kakitsubata* 杜若 (Irises).[268] Similarly, the Hokusai prints that Bracquemond quoted in his designs for the Rousseau table service leave room for *rusu moyō* interpretations. Are the natural elements in the *Manga* and in the Bracquemond-

[267] Daniel Sastre de la Vega, "Intensificando La Mirada: Rusu-Moyō En El Arte Japonés" in *La Investigación sobre Asia Pacífico en España*, no. 1, Granada University, 2006, p. 2.

[268] John Carpenter, *Designing Nature: The Rinpa Aesthetic in Japanese Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), p. 24.

Rousseau service arbitrarily grouped or do they offer cultural cues intended to stimulate the associative abilities and the imagination of the viewer?

Bracquemond transferred this Japanese principle to another cultural context. In nineteenth-century France, the cultural or literary associations that the motifs of the Bracquemond-Rousseau service may have triggered for its viewers and users came from an enlarged pool of cultural references, both Western and non-Western. The plates and tureens of the service featured decontextualized and seemingly disparate motifs that stimulated the viewer's imagination and encouraged the viewer to complete the picture, as it were. This type of engagement with a work of art was familiar to the French art lover from salon conversations and writings about art, especially in the context of the paragone of the arts. However, historically, this type of mental exercise was theorized, encouraged, and practiced in relation to the fine arts, particularly salon painting, and not in relation to decorative objects such as a ceramic table service.

Service Bracquemond, *service Rousseau*

I suggest that, in nineteenth-century France, ceramics represented a nexus of artistic innovation and radical political activity. As previously noted, Champfleury's book, *Histoire des Faïences Patriotiques sous la Révolution,* appeared, not coincidentally, in 1867. Also, Champfleury wrote enthusiastically about the Bracquemond-Rousseau table set.[269] By the time the World's Fair opened, a number of interrelated writings, such as

[269] Champfleury, article in *La Presse*; Léandre Vaillat, *Oeuvres de Bracquemond: exposés à la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Salle D, Salon de 1907* (Paris: Frazier-Soye, 1907), p. xviii.

those of Champfleury, and art projects, such as the Bracquemond-Rousseau table service, brought ceramics to the fore of political thought and artistic innovation.

Members of the Jing-Lar Society (discussed in Chapter 2) – to which Bracquemond belonged – participated in the political events of the 1871 Paris Commune. A popular print of queuing for meat by Edouard Manet (1832-1883) captures the experience of everyday life under the Paris Commune (**Fig. 85**). Both Bracquemond and Manet chose to express political messages in media other than painting. Not unlike Bracquemond's Japonisme, Manet's print bears the influence of Japanese art. As Michel Melot noted, in this print, Manet left space in reserve to create a tension between blank and hatched areas.[270] The rhythm of the umbrellas draws attention both to the print as space of representation and to the conditions of daily life.

In Jon Thompson's effective encapsulation of several theories, "modernism exists as a critical response to modernity itself."[271] The Bracquemond-Rousseau service was an astonishingly inexpensive luxury object. Collectors like Etienne Moreau-Nélaton (1859-1927) who collected Impressionist paintings also had sets of the Bracquemond-Rousseau service.[272] Although collected alongside costly works of fine art, the set was sold at only 28 francs a dozen; also, it allowed customers to make their own sets by picking any

[270] Michel Melot, *The Impressionist Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

[271] Jon Thompson, *Fiction, Crime, and Empire: Clues to Modernity and Postmodernism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), p. 24.

[272] Gabriel Weisberg, "Rethinking Japonisme: the Popularization of a Taste," p. 23.

number of objects in any desired combination.[273] To have a sense of what 28 francs bought in 1867, it is worth mentioning that, according to the World's Fair guide, a ticket for the fair's opening ceremony was 20 francs.[274] Also, a contemporaneous French porcelain vase was acquired by the South Kensington Museum[275] in 1868 for what was, according to historical conversion rates, 80 to 100 francs – more than 30 times the cost of any object in the Bracquemond-Rousseau service. The low cost of the service may have been the result of a political decision, proposed by Bracquemond or Rousseau or both, to make art available to a wide range of buyers across socio-economic strata. The choice to commercialize low-cost luxury tableware was taken against the backdrop of the highly contested socio-economic reforms of 1867; workers decried high prices, while businessmen resisted official policies that encouraged small businesses and free trade.[276] Kristin Ross and Terry Eagleton suggested that the political climate of revising the status quo encouraged the same process in the arts. [277] Japanese art offered an alternative system where ceramics, paintings, and prints could be equally valued. This model stimulated the revision of French art values, already fueled by social change.

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[273] Jean-Paul Bouillon, Christine Shimizu, Philippe Thiebaut*, Art, industrie et Japonisme: le service 'Rousseau'* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1988).

[274] *Guide général ou Catalogue indicateur de Paris, indispensable aux visiteurs et aux exposants* (Paris, 1867), p. 8.

[275] *Report of the Department of Science and Art of the Committee of Council on Education* (Great Britain Department of Science and Art, Stationary Office, 1869), p. 344.

[276] Pamela Pilbeam, "From the Silent Years to Bloody Week: Republicans 1852-1871" in *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814-1871* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

[277] Kristin Ross, *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), pp. ix-x.

Ceramics and the revision of medium hierarchies

So far we have seen that eighteenth-century French porcelain, Japanese aesthetic values, and Republican thought are not disparate influences, but aspects that complement one another in the cultural identity of the Bracquemond-Rousseau service. What does it mean that the nexus of these influential aspects of nineteenth-century French art is a set of ceramic objects? And what role does this service play in the realignment of medium hierarchies? The second half of the nineteenth century saw an increased interest in media other than painting, particularly etching, ceramics, and glassware, manifested by French painters who otherwise trained to function as fine artists within the salon system. These other media encouraged collaborative enterprises and hybrid styles that allowed for formal experimentation. I propose that the ceramic arts, having multiple authors and functions, became a laboratory for negotiating a common denominator for new trends set by artists and cultural entrepreneurs. Also, as illustrated by the Bracquemond-Rousseau service, the influence of Japanese art lay not only in the borrowing and adaptation of a visual vocabulary, but also in the adoption of a new way of thinking about the hierarchy of media. The Japanese model, according to which ceramics and painting are equally valued, inspired and helped legitimize the development of a similar paradigm in the French artistic circles to which Bracquemond and Rousseau belonged.

In an emerging cross-cultural and global context, artists in France and in Japan embraced the crossovers among media as a key aesthetic principle. Prints such as *Porcelain Cups* (**Fig.86**) by Shibata Zeshin 柴田是真 (1807-1891) and paintings such as *L'art céramique*

(**Fig.87**) by Laurent Bouvier (1840-1901) celebrated ceramic art. The allegorical figure in Bouvier's painting holds a vase in one hand and a palette and brushes in the other hand, showing the two sides of ceramic production: the three-dimensional object and the two-dimensional decoration. Bouvier's painting drew attention to the fact that its author was both painter and ceramist. Like Bouvier, Zeshin was working in multiple media, including traditional painting, woodblock print design, and, notably, lacquer techniques that he used on different supports. If Zeshin's versatility had a long tradition in Japan, Bouvier's was not the norm in nineteenth-century France.

Bouvier's *L'art céramique* was exhibited at the Salon of 1868. At the same Salon, Manet exhibited a portrait of Emile Zola (1840-1902) that highlighted the influence of Japanese and Spanish art in Manet's oeuvre. Bouvier's and Manet's paintings shared an interest in other media – ceramics, in the case of Bouvier, and prints and photographs, in the case of Manet. Bouvier's *L'art céramique* was displayed among paintings of different genres (**Fig.88**). The re-evaluation of medium hierarchies, encouraged by the encounter with Japanese art, was equally fueled by the gradual dissolution of history painting – the top category of the genre hierarchy. Significant in this regard is that the 1867 World's Fair granted "fine art" awards to Alexandre Cabanel (1823-1889), Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), and Ernest Meissonier (1815-1891) – artists whose "history paintings" fell outside the definition of that genre. Bouvier participated in the French Academy's Salons at a time when the institution faced several crises, including the impasse experienced by academic artists who were torn between following their masters and embracing new

directions in painting.[278] A notable example of an artist who, although extremely successful, struggled with the academic system was the painter, printmaker, and sculptor Ernest Meissonier (1815-1891).[279] In nineteenth-century France, more and more artists embraced double or multiple professional practices in the visual arts (e.g. Edgar Degas, Félix Bracquemond, Edouard Manet), but that was still rare among academic artists, who traditionally focused on one medium only and on one or two genres within that medium.

Through his collaborations with an entrepreneur like Rousseau and his participation at World's Fairs with "decorative" and not "fine" art, Bracquemond cultivated a mode of art-making that was publicly outside the salon system and that ultimately contributed to changing the official canon. Bracquemond thought there was no fundamental difference between the fine and the decorative arts. He expressed this idea in a journal published in Metz by the Union des Arts – a society for the synthesis of visual arts, music, and literature founded in 1850. Extant literature on Japonisme mentions Bracquemond's 1864 text for this journal, but, to my knowledge, the connection between the Bracquemond-Rousseau enterprise and contemporaneous cultural projects for the synthesis of the arts should be more thoroughly explored. The underlying principle of the Metz society, to which Bracquemond subscribed, was that "the arts, despite the diversity of their language, fundamentally convey the same message and share a common goal."[280] The

[278] For a thorough analysis of the decline of the French salon: Marc Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton University Press, 1996).

[279] Ibid. Also: Ruth Butler, Suzanne Glover Lindsay, et al, *European Sculpture of the Nineteenth Century*, The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue (Washington, DC, 2000), pp. 286-287.

[280] *L'Union des arts: revue littéraire et artistique*, Metz, 1851, p. 2.

Metz society was one of many that strove to bring together the arts and the various industries, all of which were united, in the French language, under the generous and versatile term of "art."

The Bracquemond-Rousseau set and the discourse on modernism

This service furthered the possibility of a cohesive identity for the constellation of innovative aspects of nineteenth-century French art, including Japonisme, historicism, eclecticism, and process-conscious and socially relevant art practices. How does that affect the way we think about modernism? To what extent and through what lens is the emergence of modernism connected to nineteenth-century japoniste ceramics?

The aesthetic of the Bracquemond-Rousseau set has its roots both in the French tradition of the arabesque and in the playful tension between representation and ornament in East Asian art. Regarding the former, in the words of Katie Scott, "the three-dimensional world of figurative representation is caught, delimited, even undone by the flat tactics of an incursive ornamental surround."[281] The interplay that Scott highlighted in relation to the arabesques of Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) is equally at work in Japanese art. Watteau's kneeling figures (**Fig. 89**) and Shibata Zeshin's mouse (**Fig. 90**) activate the "decorative" nature of the edges in both images. The two-dimensional non-representational edges, in turn, problematize the narrative dimension of the figures,

[281] Katie Scott, "Playing Games with Otherness: Wattteau's Chinese Cabinet at the Chateau de la Muette" in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 2003, p. 198.

bringing them into the realm of ornament. This interplay between realism and decoration is central to the artistic program of the Bracquemond-Rousseau set. For example, the fish on this tureen from the set (**Fig. 91**) looks upward as if it were aware of the presence of the lid. The playfulness of the motif evokes the French arabesque tradition and the interplay of representation and ornament in Japanese art. It also draws attention to the self-referential nature of the motif, the object, and the set.

Considering the working definition of self-referentiality and its politics, as presented in the previous section, I am suggesting, with regard to the Bracquemond-Rousseau set, that the disjunction between motif and support and the seemingly arbitrary juxtaposition of motifs from incongruent natural realms draw attention to the artifice of the object. The decoration of the set thereby becomes, at least partly, about the act of decoration itself. In his 1868 text on Japanese art, Ernest Chesneau drew attention to this playful appearance of arbitrariness in the placement of motifs, "as if the leaves and flowers (…) had fallen by accident on the object itself."[282] Published shortly after the display of the Bracquemond-Rousseau set at the World's Fair, Chesneau's text helped to further connect the aesthetic program of this set of ceramic objects to its Japanese sources.

The production and reception of the Bracquemond-Rousseau set played a central role in initiating the full-scale interrelationship between different periods of art and different cultural influences. This phenomenon of connecting historicism with contemporaneity

[282] Chesneau, *Les nations rivales dans l'art; l'art japonais; de l'influence des expositions internationales sur l'avenir de l'art,* p. 435.

and with European and East Asian artistic vocabularies became a feature of modern art across media. In 1867, Bracquemond and Rousseau boldly combined a constellation of different sources in order to give artistic form to the synthesis of the arts that numerous artists and critics had advocated and imagined for decades. The use of eighteenth-century decorative features, such as the signature blue featheredge of objects in the set, integrated the Rococo Revival taste with a contemporaneous nineteenth-century aesthetic, defined by an eclectic choice of motifs and a sense of realism. The historicist dimension of the set alluded to a different era - the French ancien régime -, while the japoniste aspect of the set alluded to a different cultural space – pre-modern and early modern Japan. In this context, France and Japan are cultural constructs reflected in the decorative program of the set. As such, they do not neutralize each other, but merge in an innovative cross-cultural idiom, characterized by self-referentiality and the interplay between realist and decorative elements. The Japanese influence, manifest in the choice of natural motifs and the seemingly arbitrary compositions, springs from Bracquemond's exposure to and interest in Japanese woodblock prints, Japanese painting manuals, and Japanese ceramics. The entrepreneurial nature of the set's production, its display at the World's Fair, its remarkably low cost, and the political activity of Bracquemond make this ceramic table service an exemplar of the material culture of French Republicanism in the years leading up to the Commune of 1871, the collapse of the Second Empire, and the successful establishment of the Third Republic.

The combination of Rococo Revival, Japonisme, and socio-political critique that defines this set's production and reception was a dynamic force behind the emergence of

modernism. The fact that this cultural project was materialized in the medium of ceramics contributed significantly to a new way of appreciating ceramics that led to a revision of medium hierarchies. The boundary between decorative arts and fine arts was tested and modified by a ceramics-driven Japonisme. In 1867, the newest artistic trend – a cross-temporal and cross-cultural synthesis of aesthetic idioms – found its fullest expression not in a painting, nor a sculpture, but a ceramic set of objects otherwise considered "minor," "applied," or "decorative." This realignment of values will become manifest not only in movements such as Arts & Crafts and Art Nouveau, but also in an ever-expanding global field of ceramic art as fine art.

3.3. Japanese Japonisme: Fukagawa Porcelain at the 1900 World's Fair

This last section explores two sets of innovative Japanese ceramics, a pair of vases and a table service, produced by the Fukagawa porcelain manufacturing company and exhibited at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle to critical acclaim. Situated in relation to both Arita ware and French japoniste ceramics, the Fukagawa objects are shown to have emphasized self-referentiality, which had been, for centuries, a key aesthetic principle in Japanese art and which was becoming, at the turn of the century, an instrumental aspect of the emerging modernist aesthetic. This sub-chapter contrasts Fukagawa practices with a Western historiography that attributes an invention of self-referential esthetics to its own Modernist high art.

In this section, I use recent theories on cultural appropriation, collecting models, and the roles of ornament, to explore the objects that the Fukagawa porcelain manufacture featured at the 1900 Exposition Universelle. Literature on Fukagawa is scarce and focuses on the history of the manufacture and the career of its founder, Fukagawa Chūji 深川忠次 (1871-1934). Combining visual and historiographical analysis, I build on extant scholarship in English, French, and Japanese and uses primary sources from French and Japanese archives. The sub-chapter first investigates Fukagawa style; then explores the identity of Fukagawa porcelain in relation to Arita ware.; and lastly places the 1900 Fukagawa ceramics in the context of Japonisme.

<u>The Objects and Their Historical Context</u>

Established as late as 1894 in Arita, home of centuries-old ceramic workshops, the Fukagawa porcelain manufacturing company (Fukagawa Seiji 深川製磁) rose rapidly to prominence. From gold medal recipient at world's fairs (Paris 1900 and St. Louis 1904) to purveyor of porcelain for the Imperial Household (since 1910), Fukagawa forged its identity as the new face of Japanese porcelain – one that combined tradition and innovation and aimed to respond to both Japanese and Western tastes. In 1900 in Paris, in the Japanese ceramics section of the fair, adjacent to the Swiss and the Austro-Hungarian ceramics sections,[283] the company was represented, among other objects, by a pair of monumental vases (**Fig.92**) and a table service (**Fig.93**) whose decorative motifs will be discussed in detail below. The two large Fukagawa vases flanked the entrance to the Japanese ceramics section of the fair, "welcoming" visitors into the realm of Japanese ceramics (**Fig.94**). The company's participation to the fair was awarded with a gold medal, received praise from fair critics and commentators, and enjoyed commercial success.[284] The monumental vases and the table service continued to increase the international visibility and recognition of Fukagawa. The vases, along with other ceramics, were awarded another gold medal at the 1904 St. Louis fair; the table set has become emblematic of the Fukagawa heritage and has known subsequent editions. In the mid-1990s, to commemorate the significant role that these objects played in the development of the Fukagawa style and to mark the company's 100th anniversary,

[283] Georges Vogt, *Rapports du Jury International: Classe 72. – Céramique* (Paris, France: Imprimerie Nationale, 1901), p. 6.

[284] Vogt, 57; "Les Récompenses de l'Exposition" in *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 30, September 22, 1900 (Paris: 8, rue Favart), 308. Also: personal communication with Mr. Hashiyama Yutaka of Fukagawa Seiji, Arita, Japan, December 2015. According to the records of the Fukagawa company, the table service was commercially successful at the 1900 fair.

Fukagawa Seiji displayed one of the two vases in a museum-like setting at its headquarters in Japan[285] and produced a contemporaneous version of the table service that continues to be manufactured and sold to this day (**Fig.95**). These tributes invite us to consider what made the vases masterpieces at the time they were made, from whose point of view, and how they introduced their Fukagawa esthetic to a Western art audience.

In 1900, so much of what defined Fukagawa ceramics was decidedly new. Since the mid seventeenth century, the Fukagawa family had produced ceramics in Arita, a porcelain production center with a rich tradition that encompasses multiple styles and manufacturing techniques. Arita ware itself dates back to the early 1600s, at the beginning of the Edo period (1600-1868). Despite Fukagawa's long presence in Arita, it was only in 1875 that Fukagawa Eizaemon 深川栄左ヱ門 (1833-1889) established Kōransha 香蘭社, the immediate predecessor of the Fukagawa manufacture. Eizaemon's decision came at a time when Arita-based ceramists were highly visible at world's fairs (especially in Philadelphia in 1876 and Paris in 1878) and looking to infuse Japanese practices of ceramic production with contemporaneous Western materials and

[285] After the two vases were exhibited and awarded at two world's fairs (Paris, 1900 and St. Louis, 1904), one of the vases was donated to the government of the United States and subsequently housed in the Civic Center Museum in Philadelphia (now closed; the object is currently housed at Temple University). Displayed in a case, the other vase is featured in the "China on the Park" museum section of the Fukagawa manufactory in Arita.

techniques.[286] Seeking recognition in the ceramic field became increasingly an international affair that required a strong aesthetic identity and a practical awareness of the best and the newest in concept and execution. It was in this context that Fukagawa Chūji, Eizaemon's younger son, established the Fukagawa porcelain manufacture in 1894. As put forth by its founder, the indivisible connection between technique (*gijutsu* 技術) and design (*ishō* 意匠) represented the underlying principle and mission of the new company.[287] This manifesto placed Fukagawa in line with the first modern expressions of the union of art and craft, ranging from post-Impressionist painting to Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau. The jury applauded Fukagawa Chūji for his double identity as *décorateur* and *fabricant* [288] – terms that corresponded neatly to the pairing of design and technique that Fukagawa advocated.

The Fukagawa vases were designed to be aesthetic, not utilitarian. Because of their two-meter larger-than-human size and busy ornamentation, the vases immediately command attention. Appropriate for featuring the skills and the visual repertory of the Fukagawa ceramists at the fair, the vases seem to be ceremonial in purpose, especially because of certain motif pairings, like the phoenix and the dragon – traditionally considered

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[286] On the impact of world's fairs on Meiji-era Japanese ceramics, see Kamada Hisaaki, *Nihon kindai sangyō no seiritsu* 日本近代産業の成立 (Kyoto,: Mineruva Shobō, 1963), pp. 82-87; Sung Jae Koh, "The Place of the Pottery and Porcelain Industry in East Asian History" in *Journal of Korean Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1969, 143-171; Takeuchi Tadashi, *Taikoku no kōbō to bankoku hakurankai tanjō* 大国の興亡と万国博覧会誕生 (Tokyo: 竹内忠, 2000); and Felice Fischer, "The Art of Japanese Craft 1875 to the Present" in *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, no. 1, 2008, pp. 1-60.

[287] *Fukagawa-Seiji* 深川製磁, merchandise catalog (Arita: Fukagawa-Seiji, 2016), p. 2.

[288] Vogt, p. 57.

auspicious for weddings and other felicitous occasions. As was the case with other exhibitors of Japanese ceramics, no explanation of these motif choices was provided to the fair jury and visitors. The formal characteristics of the vases cohered into a visual identity that was sufficient unto itself.

Each vase presents a rigorous geometry. From the footed base to the crowning orb, the vase presents intricate patterns grouped in hexagonal compartments. These compartments have non-representational patterns on one side (**Fig.96**) and representational patterns on the other side (**Fig.97**). Some compartments are partially covered by filigree-like patterns (**Fig.98**) and medallions with floral motifs and three-dimensional masks (**Fig.99**). The knob that crowns the vase contrasts a blank background with a three-dimensional dragon figure that swirls around the knob (**Fig.100**). The dragon motif also appears as a flat image on the body of the vase, in the spaces between the hexagonal compartments (**Fig.101**). This configuration structured and framed the vessel's many motifs, both representational and abstract, all in the visual repertory of Fukagawa ceramists.

The vases' textured and multicolored decoration resulted from the combination of two techniques. One is *kinrande* 金襴手, a technique through which gold painting (*kinsai* 金祭) is applied on color painting (*iroe* 色絵); the other is *somenishiki* 染錦, a multi-step process that begins with blue and white painting (*sometsuke* 染付), continues after firing with color painting, and concludes with a final firing.[289] This hybrid technique showcased

[289] Mitsuoka Tadanari, Narasaki Shōichi, and Hayashiya Seizō, *Nihon yakimono shūsei* 日本 やきもの 集成 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1987), pp. 107-108.

the versatile skills of the Fukagawa ceramists and their ability to use and combine Japanese techniques. Kinrande, in particular, associated Arita producers with sencha and literati circles, in which kinrande-adorned ceramics were often featured at tea ceremonies and poetry-writing gatherings.[290]

The Fukagawa table service played with realism on several levels. The blank surfaces of the vessels were painted with images of ceramics such as jars, pitchers, cups, and bowls. Some images of vessels would be partially superimposed, thereby creating an illusion of depth that enhanced their realism. The ceramic motifs did not correspond to the type of vessel that they were painted on. For example, an octagonal plate featured images of stemmed platters and flower vases; a chocolate cup featured images of lidded pitchers. The floral and geometric patterns that decorated the represented ceramics were thus cunningly ambiguous. Were they the ornaments of the ceramic medium, or the ornaments of the ornaments of the ceramic medium?

Fukagawa Porcelain and Self-Referentiality: A Visual Commentary on Representation

According to the definitions on self-referentiality put forth in the first section of the current chapter, the 1900 Fukagawa ceramics can be understood as self-referential, in that they refer self-consciously to their medium, to its many functions, and to a tradition of ornamentation. In so doing, they draw attention to their artifice and the conditions of their

[290] Graham, "Karamono for Sencha: Transformations in the Taste for Chinese Art", pp. 117-118.

own making. How should we understand the reception of the Fukagawa ceramics by the French art world in light of this characteristic?

The Fukagawa vases presented viewers with as many decoration patterns and motifs as the vessels had surface space for. They represented a ceramic compendium of Japanese motifs: lattice and other grid patterns, bands of clouds, plum trees and bamboo, phoenixes, dragons, theater masks, and flowers stylized according to centuries-old rules. Many of these motifs carried Japanese literary and cultural references and were considered, in Japan as well as in China, auspicious images. The "sample" nature of these motifs is inextricably linked to haikai-no-renga and to Hokusai's *Manga*, illustrating, once more, how literary motifs permeated visual culture, not only in Japan, but also, via ceramic Japonisme, in France. Furthermore, as fair critics noticed, these ceramic ornaments were both traditional Japanese motifs and Fukagawa's newly invented motifs.[291] By combining the old and the new, these vases represented the encapsulation of a cross-section of Japanese ceramic decoration and conveyed the message that creativity in Japanese ceramic design was far from over.

Similarly, arrayed upon each piece of the Fukagawa table set, the images of vases, bowls, jars, incense burners, and other ceramic objects functioned like two-dimensional "catalogs" of Japanese ceramics. This choice of motifs advertised the richness and variety of shapes and motifs that characterize Japanese ceramics, irrespective of producer, regional differences, and periods. This kind of ceramics-on-ceramics motif also

[291] Vogt, p. 57.

functioned as a business card for Fukagawa, showcasing the kinds of objects it produced. Last but not least, the motifs and the objects that carried them referenced themselves, transforming the set into the material expression of a meditation on, and a celebration of, ceramic art production.

The ceramics-on-ceramics decoration of the Fukagawa table set echoed the Japanese aesthetic principle of *gachūga* 画中画 (literally "painting-within-painting"). International audiences had been exposed to *gachūga* in other forms of Japanese art, primarily folding screens and woodblock prints. *Gachūga* can sometimes fall within the representational logic of the mother image, as in cases in which a picture that hangs in a room is seen within a painting of that room. Present in Japanese art for centuries, g*achūga* always reminds viewers of the artifice they see. An early example of *gachūga* is the depiction of pine trees as painted folding screens in an album leaf illustrating the *Kashiwagi* chapter from *The Tale of Genji* by Tosa Mitsuyoshi (Figure 70). Another example of *gachūga* that is chronologically closer to the ceramic production of Fukagawa Seiji is the art of Shibata Zeshin 柴田是真 (1807-1891). Like the twelfth-century scroll and like the Fukagawa table set, Zeshin's drawings, like this one of a mouse (Figure 90) is a playful commentary on representation. The ceramics-on-ceramics motif of the Fukagawa service functions as a ceramic equivalent of *gachūga*. With no known or at least acknowledged connection to *gachūga*, an equivalent of this "image within image" strategy is called *mise-en-abîme* in French and an infinite double-mirroring effect in English. All three terms – Japanese, French, and English – recognize that this strategy allows art to refer to its own content and medium. At the 1900 Exposition Universelle,

Fukagawa's ceramics certainly exemplified *gachūga.* Did a Western audience recognize the Fukagawa table service as *mise-en-abîme*? Some Western audiences who were familiar with Japanese art must have recognized it as *gachūga*; others may have contemplated it as an example of *mise-en-abîme*.

Fukagawa Porcelain and the Heritage of Arita Ware

Foreign incentive to innovate has greatly affected the history of the ceramic workshops of Arita and Imari. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, the Hizen province (present-day Nagasaki and Saga prefectures), especially the area of Arita Sarayama, represented the home of Japanese porcelain.[292] Production was begun by Korean potters, brought to Japan as captives by Japanese pirates and by the warriors of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598) after his invasion of Korea (1592-1598).[293] Japanese foreign policy influenced the production of, and the market for, Arita ware. As a reminder to the reader, since 1609, the Dutch East India Company was a key factor in boosting production in Japanese porcelain. In the Meiji period (1868-1912), at the end of era of the Dutch East India Company and in the immediate aftermath of the opening of Japan to diplomatic relations and foreign trade, Arita ceramists adopted modern kilns, internalized new techniques, and sought the right balance between tradition and

[292] Takeshi Nagatake, *Classic Japanese Porcelain: Imari and Kakiemon* (Tokyo, Japan: Kodansha International, 2003), p. 7.

[293] Andrew Maske, *Potters and Patrons in Edo Period Japan: Takatori Ware and the Kuroda Domain* (Burlington, VT; London: Ashgate, 2011), p. 14.

innovation.[294] Exchange between Japan and Europe and the United States took many forms and had widespread influence globally. It is worth mentioning, for example, the work of German chemist Gottfried Wagener (1831-1892), who taught Western ceramic techniques in Arita in 1870,[295] and the research visits of Japanese delegations to ceramic manufactures in Europe.[296]

Fukagawa Seiji had promoted its ceramic objects as new Arita ware.[297] The connection to the Arita heritage was a form of legitimization for a young company like Fukagawa; nonetheless, domestically and internationally, Fukagawa forged an identity of its own. The 1900 vases and table set epitomized the desire to combine widespread Japanese motifs in new configurations. Chūji found a model for ceramic production that conveyed an image of Japanese visual vocabulary for Western audiences in the work of his father,

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[294] There is rich literature on the subject of Meiji-era technological change in Japan. Sources include: Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Technological Transformation of Japan: From the Seventeenth to the Twenty-first Century* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jason T. Busch and Catherine L. Futter, eds*., Inventing the Modern World: Decorative Arts at the World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Art; Kansas City: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art; New York: Skira , 2012).

[295] For more information on Wagener and his connection to Arita ceramics: *Gottofuri-do Waguneru sensei: Kyōto sangyōkai no onjin* ゴットフリード・ワグネル先生：京都産業界の恩人 (Kyoto：第二回京都近代工業フェア開催協議会, 1981); Gunhild Avitabile, "Gottfried Wagener (1831-1892)" in Oliver Impey and Malcolm Fairley, eds., *Selected Essays* ((London: Kibo Foundation, 1995); Moyra Clare Pollard, *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu Kōzan and His Workshop* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 55-57.

[296] Among other sources, see Hirayama Shigenobu and Tanaka Yoshio, eds., *Okoku Hakurankai Sandō Kiyō* **澳國博覽會參同記要** (Tokyo: Moriyama Shunyō, 1897); Takeuchi Tadashi, *Taikoku no kōbō to bankoku hakurankai tanjō* *大国の興亡と万国博覧会誕生* (Tokyo, 2000); Moyra Clare Pollard, *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu Kōzan (1842-1916) and His Workshop* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

[297] This statement is based on the overall effect of multiple sources that constitute what may be referred to as "Fukagawa discourse," including Fukagawa letters, catalogs, other in-house print publications, exhibition catalogs, the company's website entries, and personal communications.

Fukagawa Eizaemon, founder of Kōransha. While Chūji's brother Yōtarō 陽太郎, also known as Fukagawa Eizaemon IX 第七代深川栄左衛門, continued their father's business, Chūji founded his own company. Yōtarō, on the one hand, led Kōransha from 1889 to 1935; under his leadership, the company continued to manufacture ceramics like those of Eizaemon, was awarded medals at world's fairs, and diversified its activity to include the production of industrial porcelain.[298] Chūji, on the other hand, designed ceramic objects that streamlined the visual language of Kōransha and Arita ware, with an awareness of new European ceramic technologies and japoniste trends in multiple mediums (prints, paintings, and ceramics).

Their father Eizaemon exhibited, at the 1876 Philadelphia fair, a pair of vases (**Fig.102**) that featured common Japanese motifs and subject matter in creative combinations.[299] Building on that tradition, Chūji's 1900 vases featured a constellation of East Asian design vocabulary – from Japanese cloud bands to Chinese dragons and phoenixes taken from Japanese pattern books. Unlike the Eizaemon vases, Chūji's vases do not have a central image framed by decoration; instead, the decoration covers the entire surface in an intricate structure of patterns. The seemingly arbitrary choices of motifs transformed the vessels into carriers of samples of East Asian decoration, filtered through Japanese

[298] During Yōtarō's directorship, Kōransha received recognition internationally, increased its capital, and produced high performance insulators for the Tokyo Shibaura Engineering Works in 1913 and the Tokyo Railway Bureau in 1928. "Company History", *Kōransha*, 2013, retrieved at: http://www.Kōransha.co.jp/Kōransha/Kōransha_english.html#History, last accessed: August 5, 2016. Also: "世界万博受賞歴", *Kōransha*, 2013, retrieved at: http://www.Kōransha.co.jp/Kōransha/Kōransha_awards.html, last accessed: August 5, 2016.

[299] Fukagawa Tadashi, "Kōransha no monyō – sono rekishi to tokushoku 香蘭社の文様--その歴史と特色" in *Tōsetsu* 陶説 286, 1977, pp. 48-51; Gisela Jahn, *Meiji Ceramics: the Art of Japanese Export Porcelain and Satsuma Ware, 1868-1912* (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche, 2004).

aesthetic practices. Nonetheless, some of the motifs were chosen to convey specific messages. For example, the crowning knob of each vase resembles a Buddhist wish-fulfilling jewel (*hōju-no-tama* 宝珠の玉); [300] the dragon that swirls around it calls to mind the dragon-king of the sea – believed to be the one who obtained the wish-fulfilling jewel. The delicate detail and technical precision of the knob's decoration were very rare, if not unparalleled, in contemporaneous Arita ceramics.[301] This finely executed motif conveyed information about Asian mythology and evoked a sense of energy and hope to Japanese and elite international audiences who had the knowledge to read such messages. That said, if various cultural associations could be made about any individual ornament, the sum of all decoration created an overall effect of richness and novelty and ultimately a meaning of its own – one that both offered a composite image of Japanese aesthetic motifs and practices and reflected the spirit of experimentation of the 1900 art scene.

It was not only the decorative program, but also the technical aspects of the vases that announced the identity of Fukagawa ware as new Arita ware. The completion of two vases of complex shapes and large sizes represented a technical accomplishment. Their monumentality did not go unnoticed at the 1900 Exposition Universelle.[302] Excluding the crowning knob, the body of each vase was made in three sections; then finishing touches were added on the potter's wheel; lastly, the sections were fired in a kiln and fitted

[300] Suzuta Yukio pointed out this resemblance. See Suzuta Yukio, *1900nen Pari banpaku shuppin no daikabin* １９００年パリ万博出品の大花瓶 (Arita: Fukagawa Seiji Geijutsushitsu, n.d.), "Hōju 宝珠" section.

[301] Ibid.

[302] "Archive," *Fukagawa Seiji*, 2007, retrieved at: https://www.fukagawa-seiji.co.jp/archive/index.php, last accessed: June 24, 2016.

together.[303] Although of a size and shape that would have put them at risk, the vases survived the firing at 1350 degrees centigrade; this technical success has been remembered as "the shape of a miracle."[304] According to ceramics scholar Suzuta Yukio, despite the shrinking that occurs during firing, the vase's lower body securely supports the massive upper body and contributes to a harmonious overall shape; Suzuta attributes this achievement to the technical skill and knowledge of the Fukagawa potters.[305] Porcelain is simultaneously fragile – it breaks easily – and resilient -- it survives and, is strengthened by, firing at high temperatures.[306] Ceramic objects like the Fukagawa vases embody this tension between fragility and strength. The traditional pairing of dragon and phoenix as motifs on the Fukagawa vases evoked the complementary relation of delicacy and resilience that also characterized the medium of porcelain. The motif and the material echoed one another.

The sheer size of the Fukagawa monumental vases testified to the company's technical achievement. However, they were not without precedent. In fact, monumental porcelain vases had been exported from China to Europe since the late seventeenth century. Notable examples are the large Chinese vases in the collection of Chinese, Japanese, and Meissen porcelain of Augustus the Strong (1670-1733), Elector of Saxony and King of

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[303] Suzuta Yukio, *１９００年パリ万博出品の大花瓶*, "Rokuro ろくろ" section.

[304] "Archive," *Fukagawa Seiji*, 2007.

[305] Suzuta Yukio, *１９００年パリ万博出品の大花瓶*, "Rokuro ろくろ" section.

[306] Susan Michele Wager, "Boucher's Bijoux: Luxury Reproduction in the Age of Enlightenment," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2015. Also: Alden Cavanagh and Michael Yonan, *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-century Porcelain* (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, c2010).

Poland.[307] Some of these large ceramics belonged to a category of their own as masterpiece vases. The large Chinese export vases of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries echoed older Chinese ritual vases that, in turn, emulated ancient bronze vessels. Perhaps the most popular example is the pair of large porcelain altar-vases that date back to the Yuan dynasty (1351) and that are best known as the David vases (**Fig.103**), named after the collector, Sir Percival David (1892-1964).[308] Like the David vases, Chūji's vases have dragons and phoenixes as pervasive motifs. The monumentality of the Fukagawa vases had a complex relation to these and other precedents and models. The 1900 vases highlighted the technical and aesthetic merits of the Fukagawa company in relation to the legacy of Chūji's father Eizaemon and to the Chinese tradition of monumental porcelain objects that often emulated older and similarly ritualistic objects in bronze. Also, through technical accomplishment and the inclusion of these two statement pieces at the world's fair, Fukagawa flaunted its capabilities not only in relation to the West, but also in relation to China. Considering the saturation of the European market with East Asian porcelain in the second half of the nineteenth century, [309] it was imperative for Fukagawa,

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[307] Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Samuel Wittwer, *A Royal Menagerie: Meissen Porcelain Animals* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2011); Joseph Marryat, *Collections Towards a History of Pottery and Porcelain in the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries; With a Description of the Manufacture, a Glossary, and a List of Monograms* (London: Murray, 1850).

[308] The Percival David vases in the British Museum have been used to date blue-and-white Chinese porcelain and are of significant interest for the history of collecting. Regina Krahl, Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Chinese Ceramics: Highlights of the Sir Percival David Collection* (British Museum, 2009); Stacey Pierson, *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560-1960* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007); Jean Gordon Lee, "Some Pre-Ming 'Blue-and-White': A Stylistic Analysis with a Suggested Chronology" in *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 6, 1952.

[309] Max Put, *Plunder and Pleasure: Japanese Art in the West, 1860-1930* (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, c2000); Anna Jackson, "Imagining Japan: The Victorian Perception and Acquisition of Japanese Culture" in *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1992), pp. 245-256; and Phylis

as the newest Arita ware, to draw attention to technological mastery and fine aesthetic sense. Not coincidentally, it was at the 1900 fair that the Parisian art world rekindled its appreciation for Japanese art as an expression of "the highest level in the arts."[310]

The Fukagawa ceramics-on-ceramics table set built on a long tradition of Arita ceramics whose witty decoration invited viewers to think about the role of representation in ceramic art. Fukagawa's ceramic motifs – used for a table service whose primary market was in Europe and the United States – call to mind earlier Arita ware with similar motifs, such as this dish with design of two overlapping dishes (**Fig. 104**) or this plate with design of seven jars (**Fig. 105**). Both dishes date from the early eighteenth century and are of the Nabeshima type, produced either for domestic markets or in emulation of domestic ceramics. As samples of different decorative modes for plate rims or of different glazes for jars, the designs on these dishes "advertised" the capabilities of their potters and invited viewers/ users to think about the material, aesthetic, and cultural identities of ceramics. Fukagawa's 1900 products referred back to this longstanding tradition of embracing self-referentiality. A more complex example of this playful decoration mode is a seventeenth-century Arita Sarayama lobed dish, featuring layers of images and images of images. On this plate, an ikebana arrangement, consisting of a vase with blossomed branches and a footed tray, is a painted image on a folded origami sheet

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Anne Floyd, "'Japonisme' in Context: Documentation, Criticism, Aesthetic Reactions," Ph.D. diss. (U. of Michigan, 1983). Primary sources: Emile Hovelaque, "L'Exposition Rétrospective du Japon" in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (January 2, 1901), p. 122 and C.-Y. (Champfleury), "La mode des japoniaiseries" in La *Vie parisienne* (November 21, 1868), pp. 862-863.

[310] Emile Hovelaque, "L'Exposition Rétrospective du Japon" in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January 2, 1901, p. 122.

that sits on top of a flat origami sheet (**Fig.106**). To follow the logic of this plate's decoration, the ikebana vase does not decorate the plate directly; instead, it decorates a piece of origami paper, which is itself a decorative motif on the mother plate. To add to this playful approach to the relation between object and decoration, the border of the plate features a molded letter design. Writing is here not only an abstract representation of ideas, but also a three-dimensional form that carries its own visual meaning. Paper is flat and yet, when one corner of a sheet is folded, we become more aware of the shallow three-dimensionality of paper. Writing is a system of signs and yet, when letters become solid shapes, they gain an aesthetic meaning that is independent of the words they form and the concepts they express. The central ceramics-on-ceramics motif and the surrounding sculptural calligraphy playfully invite the viewer and user of this plate to think about multiple forms of representation (writing, two-dimensional images, and ceramic art). The 1900 Fukagawa table service took this kind of self-referentiality one step further. In the Arita Sarayama plate, the ikebana vessel motif did not "sit" directly on the plate, but on two pieces of origami paper. These motifs of origami paper can be understood as additional layers of representation that provide some context to the ikebana vessel motif. Unlike the Arita Sarayama plate, the Fukagawa table service did not include any such additional layers; the motifs of vessels "sit" directly on the blank surfaces of the set's pieces. This unmediated contact between the ceramic vessel and the vessel-shaped motif heightens the tension between real and represented.

Fukagawa Porcelain in the Context of Japoniste Ceramics

Chūji was well aware of japoniste ceramics. Having learned about ceramics from his father Eizaemon, Chūji was exposed, from an early age, to his father's knowledge about the newest trends in European ceramics and the most recent technological advances that his father had brought to Arita from France. In 1878, two years after his participation in the Philadelphia fair, Eizaemon exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in Paris, made over 10,000 yen on ceramics he sold after the fair, traveled around Europe on a tour of contemporaneous ceramics that exposed him to japoniste trends, and acquired steam-powered ceramics equipment from Limoges.[311] The new European knowledge and technology was absorbed and in use at Kōransha, Eizaemon's company, as early as 1879, when Chūji was 8 years old. When Chūji founded his own company fifteen years later, what he had learned from his father and Kōransha was vividly in his mind. Kōransha's ceramic production reflected the influence of European ceramic patterns and vocabularies. At the 1900 Exposition Universelle, the jury commented that Kōransha, like other contemporaneous Japanese manufactures, emulated European and French ceramics too closely, while the objects of the newly established Fukagawa company, even if made for export, kept drawing on Japanese motifs and invented new ones.[312] Chūji used European ceramic motifs and practices only as a guide to carve his own path and to feature, in his work, the Japanese art values that had influenced European ceramics. It is significant that, in 1900, Chūji bought Japanese objects from Siegfried

[311] Nakayama Seiki, *Arita yōgyō no nagare to sono ashioto: Kōransha hyakunen no ayumi* 有田窯業の流れとその足おと―香蘭社百年の歩み (Arita: Kōransha, 1980), pp. 40-43.

[312] Vogt, *Rapports*, pp. 55, 57.

Bing and brought them back to Japan.[313] This recent archival find further suggests Chūji's interest in understanding the Japanese models that had shaped Japonisme.

Scholarship on Japonisme has not led to expect that it would so deeply affect the visual vocabulary and aesthetic principles of Japanese ceramic art. Despite literature on the effects of Japonisme in twentieth-century Japan, more research and analysis are needed about the nineteenth century. In metropolitan areas that became transnational arts centers like Paris and London, in international realms like the world's fairs, and in the networks of collectors and dealers that developed across national boundaries, japoniste art and Japanese art occupied the same intellectual spaces. Like japoniste producers such as the artist Taxile Doat (1851-1939) or the manufacture Creil and Montereau (to give only French examples), Fukagawa, too, was a multi-authorial agent who produced art for a global market. Considering its engagement with Japanese art and understanding the Arita-based manufacture as a modern enterprise, Fukagawa porcelain is decidedly japoniste. Aware of the extent of Western knowledge about Japanese ceramics, Chūji designed the vases for the 1900 Exposition Universelle in ways that combined the decoration techniques (*sometsuke*, *iroe*, and *kinsai*) with which European collectors were most familiar. Also, like japoniste ceramists such as Félix Bracquemond, Fukagawa Chūji drew porcelain designs and compiled books of his drawings. These porcelain design books were atypical among contemporaneous Japanese ceramists, who normally

[313] Archives, Fukagawa Seiji, Arita, Japan. Personal communication with Fukagawa Kazuta, current president of the Fukagawa porcelain manufactory, February 2018.

used ceramic prototypes instead of drawings.[314] Fukagawa's engagement with *Japonisme* is integral to a larger phenomenon. For example, the international visibility of nineteenth-century collections (e.g. the collection of generations of Haviland collectors and ceramists) that included both japoniste ceramics and contemporaneous Japanese ceramics established a realm of Japonisme that was not Western only, but that included late nineteenth-century Japanese art.

In an emerging cross-cultural and global context, artists in France and in Japan made paintings about ceramics and sculpted statuary that carried messages about the nature of painting. To the nineteenth-century French artist, Japanese art offered an alternative system in which ceramics, lacquer, paintings, and prints were interrelated; various mediums had other mediums as their subject matter. For example, paintings and prints depicted and celebrated ceramic art. As mentioned in relation to the Bracquemond-Rousseau service, Bouvier's painting *L'art céramique* (Figure 87) drew attention to the fact that its author was both painter and ceramist. Not unlike Bouvier's painting *L'art céramique*, the 1900 Fukagawa table service, too, is a meditation on the nature of ceramics. The two aspects of ceramic art that Bouvier illustrated are brought together, in the 1900 set, by motifs that are two-dimensional representations of the objects that hold them. The international circulation of such ceramic themes showcased ceramics as a versatile arena of artistic expression.

[314] "Archive," *Fukagawa Seiji*, 2007, retrieved at: https://www.fukagawa-seiji.co.jp/archive/index.php, last accessed: June 24, 2016.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Japanese art had become a pool of artistic vocabulary from which European and American artists drew inspiration. Their internalization of Japanese aesthetic values and decorative motifs ultimately impacted Japanese art of the turn of the century, especially in the realm of ceramics. Through their exposure to japoniste ceramics at World's Fairs, Japanese ceramists like Fukagawa became aware of those aspects of Japanese art that European artists employed successfully in their ceramics. This awareness encouraged Fukagawa and other Japanese ceramists not only to emphasize those same aspects in their production, but also to improve that vocabulary through innovation and a nuanced understanding of Japanese art.

Like the Fukagawa ceramics-on-ceramics table service, the Bracquemond-Rousseau service (Figure 79) was featured at a World's Fair – the 1867 one in Paris – and became very successful with critics and with the public. As mentioned in the previous section, for this set, the French artist Bracquemond copied and re-arranged visual motifs from an anthology of prints by Katsushika Hokusai known as *Sketches* or *Manga* 漫画 (first published in Japan in 1814). The ceramic motifs of both the Bracquemond-Rousseau set and the Fukagawa set appear to be placed in a haphazard way. The sample-like nature of the decoration on each of the two table services makes it look like the motifs or their placement could be different from plate to plate. That would create the impression that each object *could* be unique (which it was not, as Bracquemond's designs were cut and pasted on all plates in the same configuration by manufacture employees). This decoration tactic – referred to as the "motif aléatoire" by Bracquemond's contemporaries – was an ingenious way of masking the contradiction between mass-produced and

original objects. As such, although made in a manufacture whose mode of production foreshadowed the assembly line, the 1866 service looked like a set of unique objects that stimulated the viewer's imagination as paintings would. As modern artifacts, the two ceramic sets had a complex relation to authenticity.

This service and subsequent japoniste ceramics featured decoration that deflected the representational dimension and drew attention to its status as decoration. In the case of Bracquemond-Rousseau plate discussed in the previous section (Figure 78), there is no visual information to contextualize the motifs: where is the lobster, where are the eggplants, and why are they seen together? The inaccurate scale and the lack of spatial context decrease the credibility of these motifs and negate their status as representation. Looked at individually, each motif reads as representation; understood as a composite image on the surface of the plate, the motifs lose much of their representational legibility and coherence. In the framework of Western values of art and design, the motifs of this plate have a problematic identity as representation. This tension emphasizes that the motifs are primarily, if not exclusively, ornament. As previously defined, this mechanism by which the ornament emphasizes its nature as ornament is self-referential. The 1900 Fukagawa service employed a similar mechanism. Fukagawa's playful self-referentiality not only reflected a centuries-old tradition in Japanese art, but also showed that the success of japoniste ceramics at world's fairs, dating back to the Bracquemond-Rousseau service of 1867, encouraged French and Japanese ceramists to continue to perfect their shared vocabulary and aesthetic principles.

At the 1900 Exposition Universelle, The Fukagawa vases and table service offered a sample of Japanese visual vocabulary and functioned as a business card for Fukagawa and its ambitions. As both Arita ware and japoniste porcelain, these objects contributed to a larger international phenomenon of reinventing ceramic art. Fukagawa's playful reflection on the nature of representation and on the relation between object and decoration paralleled similar artistic practices in japoniste ceramics in Western countries. In 1900, at a time when self-referentiality came into focus as a central element in the modernist aesthetic, Fukagawa's emphasis on self-referentiality was a reminder that this aesthetic principle had a multi-medium and centuries-old tradition in Japan.

Furthermore, the 1900 Fukagawa porcelain exemplifies, I suggest, a phenomenon by which Japanese porcelain emulated japoniste porcelain from France and elsewhere, internalizing and using those Japanese aesthetic motifs and values that came into focus the most as filtered through the eyes of Euro-American ceramists and entrepreneurs. Reflecting the Western amalgamation of Japanese references and emphasizing the multicultural genealogy of post-Meiji Japanese ceramics, this phenomenon can be understood, I propose, as circular or uroboric Japonisme, especially in ceramics, in that it not only brought the circulation and influence of Japanese aesthetics full circle, but it also became a central trigger for the constant negotiation of tradition and innovation—at the core of global ceramic arts and, as a principle, of all art making.

Chapter 4
Rewriting Histories of Art, Then

4.1. The Role of Japoniste Ceramics in the Revision of Art Values in France

Turning now to how japoniste ceramics were understood in their time, the term that comes to mind is "discourse"—to be precise, "cultural discourse." But what does such discourse actually entail? And, more importantly, why does it matter? Encompassing a wide range of communication practices, from oral history to letters and diaries to books and periodicals, cultural discourse cumulatively codifies sociocultural products and cross-cultural encounters. As sociocultural products that resulted from cross-cultural encounters, japoniste ceramics presented thinkers of the time with an exemplary lens through which to gain knowledge about themselves and their social realities. Looking at contemporaneous books and periodicals, World's Fairs reviews, diaries, and letters, this discussion will explore how the discourse, thus understood, shaped the parameters of Japonisme and the definitional boundaries of ceramics as medium. The current subchapter will also investigate how this discourse galvanized the process by which japoniste ceramics contributed to the revision of hierarchies and values in the late nineteenth-century French art world.

At that time, the cultural discourse often focused on the relation between art and design and saw a renewed interest in the debate around art hierarchies. This level of attention toward the applied arts contributed to a zeitgeist where notions such as "l'art pour tous"

("art for all") and "l'art dans tout" ("art in everything") often took center stage.[315] This discourse helps us understand that the impact of Japonisme, and japoniste ceramics in particular, as I argue, extended far beyond the East-West cross-cultural exchange. In this section, my goal is to understand the objects and ideas that led to this new discourse about the applied arts. Japoniste networks – social networks and networks of objects – bred the interest in an art that declared itself as art.

The renegotiation of what "art" and "industrie" meant in late nineteenth-century France affected historical views of the hierarchies of mediums and genres in the visual arts. Japonisme was quickly assimilated to an ongoing evaluation of the relationship between these two categories – "art" and "industrie" –harkening back to d'Alembert's and Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (1751-1772). As scholars of the eighteenth century have noted, for Diderot, technique mediated the dichotomy of art and industry, while the latter two categories were defined in relation to that of nature, broadly construed.[316] Diderot's preoccupation with technique led to an overwhelming emphasis on the machine, on workshops and manufactories, and the ideal union of concept ("intellectual geometry") and craft ("experiential geometry").[317] In the second half of the nineteenth century, against the backdrop of industrialization, urbanization, and new labor and leisure realities, these theories were questioned and modified to reflect new sociocultural

[315] Florence Slitine, "Quand des fabriques de céramique font appel aux artistes. Les exemples de Montereau, Choisy-le-Roi et Charenton-le-Pont dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle" in Pierre Lamard et al, *Art & Industrie*, Editions Picard « Histoire industrielle et société », 2013, p. 155.

[316] Charles Kanelopoulos, "L'Encyclopédie et les techniques: Problèmes théoriques", *Archives de Philosophie*, vol. 56, no. 1 (1993), p. 88.

[317] Kanelopoulos, "L'Encyclopédie et les techniques: Problèmes théoriques", p. 91.

paradigms and structures. These new ideas included the notion of craft as a foil to, if not a corrective for, industrialization[318] and the ethnographic interest in the cultural identities of different regions and time periods, which fueled nostalgia for a pre-industrial past and spurred a renewed interest in the history of mediums other than painting.

Art critics, government officials, World's Fair committees, journals, pamphlets, and other agents and outlets that constituted public discourse in nineteenth-century France discussed the "industries de l'art" – literally the "creative industries" – at a time of profound change that redefined them. Building on historically opposite notions such as art vs. craft and art vs. industry, "industries de l'art" was a problematic concept that defined a relatively new field with loose and changing boundaries. This new category encompassed many sub-categories with long histories, such as the "decorative arts," comprising a wide range of mediums, from tapestry to ceramics. The interest in this super category of the "industries de l'art" was fueled by technological advancements, an increased exposure to foreign manufacturing, and the desire of the bourgeoisie to collect and own objects that simultaneously provided comfort and constituted tokens of world cultures. Such motivations were integral to the effects of the emergence of World's Fairs in 1851 (at the Crystal Palace in London) and of institutions dedicated to the "industrial arts" (e.g. in Britain, the establishment of the Government School of Design in 1837 in

[318] Grace Lees-Maffei and Linda Sandino, "Dangerous Liaisons: Relationships between Design, Craft and Art", *Journal of Design History*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2004), p. 209.

Somerset House; in France, the Société du progrès de l'art industriel, founded by Jean Baptiste Amédée Couder (1797-1864) in 1845).[319]

One of the key figures that contributed to shaping the creative industries in late nineteenth-century France was the cultural broker, who, as described in Chapter 2, was oftentimes simultaneously a "mover" (e.g. dealer, collector, exhibitor) and a "maker" (e.g. manufactory, small studio, individual artist). In the realm of japoniste ceramics, dealers and collectors were also involved in the production of new art via friendships and collaborations with designers and ceramists. These cultural brokers connected otherwise disparate networks and thereby strengthened a wider, ceramics-driven japoniste network. Enables by its intellectual and material infrastructure, this network produced and supported innovative work in ceramics. Because of the sociopolitical power of network members (e.g. Cernuschi, Haviland), this new work became prominent in circles that were directly involved in the formulation of discourse on the "industries de l'art." Not coincidentally, some of these cultural brokers were themselves authors of texts that shaped new definitions of art and design (e.g. Bing's *Le Japon artistique*, Burty's reviews of "industrial arts" at multiple international exhibitions held in Paris). This mechanism of influence illustrates how social networks with strong identities (e.g. the japoniste network) that operate in multiple worlds (e.g. collectors' circles, ceramic manufacturing,

[319] The British interest in Japanese arts and the re-evaluation of the "decorative" spurred increased ties between artists' and collectors' circles in England and France. A notable example is the collaboration between S. Bing and Frank Brangwyn, William Morris's student, for Bing's Maison de l'Art Nouveau in 1899. Leading up to this momentous collaboration were, as is well researched, the Aesthetic Movement and subsequently Arts and Crafts. See: Robin Spencer, *The Aesthetic Movement, Theory and Practice* (London: Studio Vista/Dutton Pictureback, 1972); *Japan and Britain, An Aesthetic Dialogue, 1850–1930*, Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe, eds. (London and Tokyo: The Barbican Art Gallery and Setagaya Art Museum, 1991).

Academy Salons, independent artist movements) contribute to restructuring categories and values at the intersection of those worlds.[320]

A chemist for the Sèvres manufactory and familiar with japoniste ceramic circles if only via his Sèvres connections, Georges Vogt was an appropriate choice for writing a report on international ceramics at the 1900 World's Fair. This Fair featured French ceramics exhibiting japoniste vocabulary, such as those by Chaplet, whose work was particularly visible because of the medal he had won for innovative glazes at the 1889 Paris World's Fair. As shown in the previous chapter, the 1900 Fair also presented the French public with porcelain like Fukagawa's, demonstrating the Meiji-period re-appropriation, in contemporaneous Japanese ceramics, of Western Japanese-inspired motifs and aesthetic principles. Perceptive of this juxtaposition, Vogt argued, in his Report, that new ceramics were to be valued not only for the quality of their material, but also for their "artistic value," due to the considerable influence of "art" on "ceramics."[321] Such statements contributed to the mainstream acceptance of a loosening of demarcations between "art" and ceramics, historically associated with craft and the decorative. This revision began as early as the 1880s, when the earliest French historians of Japanese art emphasizes that what was considered "minor" in the Western world was regarded highly in Japanese

[320] This argument resonates with Ikegami's conclusions about the "aesthetic networks" of Tokugawa Japan. See Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, pp. 46-47.

[321] Georges Vogt, *Exposition universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris. Rapport du jury international classe 72 – Céramique –Rapport de M. Georges Vogt* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1901), p. 25: "L'influence de l'art sur la céramique a été grande dans ces dernières années et l'on est loin aujourd'hui de ne considérer dans les produits exposés que la qualité de la matière cuite; on tient avec raison grand compte de la valeur artistique des objets soumis à l'appréciation du jury et du public."

culture. For example, in 1885, Duret, Cernuschi's travel companion and himself a major collector of Japanese books and prints, commented on this shift of perspective. Referring to ceramics and netsuke, he wrote, "(…) these works that our Western mind would qualify as mere trinkets (…) held, in effect, an immense value in the eyes of the Japanese (…)."[322] This statement was part of a chapter on Japanese arts included among chapters on the Impressionists in a book that declared itself to present avant-garde commentary on avant-garde art. Vogt's remarks, in 1901, on the high artistic value of ceramics, whether French or Japanese, built on statements like Duret's and contributed to this paradigm shift in both practice and discourse.

However, other sources of discourse conspicuously maintained the historically more rigid distinctions between art, craft, and design. To provide an influential example, the Paris-based dealer Hayashi, whom we have encountered in previous chapters, insisted on originality of design as a key ingredient in distinguishing between art and craft.[323] Influenced by the French system in which he had embedded himself, and perhaps for strategic purposes, namely to speak the language of his French customers, Hayashi often made reference to, and seemingly accepted, older French hierarchies of art values. This conformity, however, was in the service of promoting traditional Japanese ceramics and contemporaneous Japanese ceramists like Makuzu Kōzan (1842-1916), whose innovative ceramics resonated deeply with French japoniste works by Chaplet and Dalpayrat (**Fig.107**). The implication of this observation, I argue, is that directly shaping new

[322] Theodore Duret, "L'art japonais" in *Critique d'avant-garde* (Paris: Charpentier, 1885), p. 136.

[323] Pollard, *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu Kōzan (1842-1916) and His Workshop*, p. 96.

discourses on art was the unmediated contact with objects – from self-referential Edo-period ceramics to the globally aware practice of Kōzan. Hayashi may have been more comfortable acting, rather than writing, in ways that furthered new ideas about the arts. For example, he infamously prevented Japanese exhibitors (producers and merchants) from selling their objects after the 1900 Fair, which triggered substantial criticism of him in Japan.[324] Perhaps instead of, or in addition to, a lack of interest in helping the Japanese economy, Hayashi's reason for this decision was to inscribe Japanese arts in the non-commercial sphere of "art", in line with the "art for art's sake" notion championed by the Aesthetic Movement and notably Whistler. This policy undoubtedly affected the reception of the Fukagawa pieces discussed in the previous chapter, especially that, considering their popularity, the public sought to acquire Fukagawa products, in particular the ceramics-on-ceramics table service.[325]

On the production side, artists involved in the design of japoniste ceramics expressed a desire to work independently of the tastes of the public and to offer cultural products that would remodel mainstream tastes based on the vision of the producer (according to Bracquemond[326]) or on the artist's own notion of "good" art (according to Henri

[324] *Hayashi Tadamasa: Japonisme and Cultural Exchanges*, p. 36.

[325] According to documents in the Archives of the Fukagawa porcelain manufactory. Personal communication with Fukagawa Seiji – Japan, December 2015.

[326] Bracquemond: "Quand un objet a du succès dans le public, on ne sait pas pourquoi... et tout calcul de prévision est inutile. Le producteur n'a donc pas à s'occuper du gout du public, puisque (…) il doit faire à sa tête." Cited in: Henry Nocq, *Tendances nouvelles. Enquête sur l'évolution des industries d'art* (Paris, H. Floury, 1896), p. 25.

Rivière[327]). I propose that this sense of confidence in artists' ability to influence public taste and to set (new) standards for quality in art, sprang from their engagement with mediums other than painting, namely ceramics and prints. While Bracquemond's designs for the 1867 table service and Chaplet's stoneware pieces with new glazes could not be more different in terms of their visual identities, they nonetheless shared the emulation of Japanese aesthetics and a sense of freedom of experimentation. In doing ceramics, these artists felt freer in their pursuits than they did in the medium of painting, because of the very hierarchies and rules they were contributing to breaking. As shown in the previous chapter, Bracquemond and Bouvier, among others, chose to work in both painting and ceramics and, in the case of Bracquemond, in several other mediums, all historically deemed "lesser" than painting, like furniture, jewelry, and bookbinding. At a socio-economic level, this diversification of vehicles of expression entailed collaborations with producers and dealers outside the Salon system, leading to new modes of art production, which can be characterized as more heterogeneous, less institutionalized, and more conducive to an integration of "decorative art" and "fine art."

This liberation began, of course, with artists like Gustave Courbet and, later, Manet, who struggled with the rejection of their respective works by the Salon system. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Manet was an integral part of the japoniste network and one of its first members to engage in a meaningful cross-cultural and cross-medium practice. For example, however limited and intuitive, Manet's understanding of mise-en-abime in

[327] According to Rivière, artists had the responsibility to provide the public with "des oeuvres vraiment bien, à notre goût à nous." Cited in: Henry Nocq, *Tendances nouvelles. Enquête sur l'évolution des industries d'art* (Paris, H. Floury, 1896), p. 62.

Japanese arts inspired him, I suggest, to use the same principle in his own art, most literally evident in his 1868 portrait of Emile Zola (**Fig. 108**).[328] Manet's exposure to Japanese woodblock prints (as documented and analyzed by a vast literature) and to Japanese ceramics enabled his complex engagement with the Japanese tradition of placing images within images. While Manet most likely did not know of *gachūga* per se, the images-within-images principle discussed in the previous chapter, he nonetheless would have been aware of visual examples of *gachūga*, such as Japanese objects that featured it and French objects that emulated it, available in Parisian shops, in his friends' collections, and at the 1867 World's Fair.

Moreover, I would like to suggest that Manet's Japonisme fundamentally influenced and informed his Hispanisme. It was through the lens of the lessons of self-reference and playfulness that Japanese art had taught him that he looked at Spanish art and recognized similar aesthetic principles at work. Considering that, historically, the established regard toward Spanish art was largely motivated by academic interest and a Eurocentric regionalist exoticism, Manet's japoniste lens contributed significantly to the artist's new and creative mode of engagement with Spanish sources. It is, then, not coincidental that Manet was interested in Velazquez, considering Velazquez's own mise-en-abime practice, not limited to, but perhaps most famously in, *Las Meninas* (**Fig. 109**). Equally informed by his exposure to Japanese prints and ceramics was Manet's interest in the relation between Goya and Velazquez, not in the least because Goya's translations of Velazquez in other mediums (e.g. Goya's etchings based on Velazquez's paintings)

[328] For an illuminating discussion of how the mise-en-abime of images and influences functions in this painting, see Anne Higonnet, "Manet and the Multiple," *Grey Room* 48 (2012).

resonated deeply with Japanese cross-medium emulation (e.g. Japanese eighteenth-century ceramics echoing Chinese ancient bronzes, examples of which Cernuschi, whom Manet knew via Duret and Bracquemond, collected and showed, privately and publicly).

The involvement of artists like Manet in multicultural and multi-medium art production represented a major channel for the transfer of japoniste aesthetic solutions and values from ceramics to prints and paintings and vice versa. From bird-and-flower paintings to images of the "floating world" to religious paintings, various types of Japanese imagery had been used, over the centuries, in many different mediums: folding screens, hanging scrolls, ceramics, fans, lacquerware, textiles, etc. Seeking ways to expand their means of expression and to integrate art and design, French artists recognized this well-established East Asian phenomenon as a major source of inspiration. Hence, what influenced Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau was not only the japoniste vocabulary and the insight into Japanese visual representation (complete with an understanding of the fragmentary), but also an awareness of the essentially multi-medium circulation, in Japanese arts, of a shared pool of visual and cultural references. This circulation would have been readily detectable to the japoniste network via French collections in which ceramics, lacquerware, and paintings shared similar vocabularies and even exact motifs (e.g. arhats, dragons, phoenixes, poets of the past, stacked sheets of paper, acorns and gourds, etc.).

To offer an example that is more unusual than similarly shaped animal and vegetal motifs, the ceramic dolls in Taigny's collection echoed those depicted in Mokubei's painting in Hayashi's collection (**Fig. 110**). Moreover, Mokubei's painting demonstrated

his identity as a painter as well as a ceramist; French collectors knew more about the latter, especially those who owned ceramics by Mokubei or attributed to him. The involvement of one artist in two or more mediums and the multiple uses of images across different supports would have resonated, in nineteenth-century France, with a similar phenomenon from the mid-eighteenth century, when images by François Boucher (1703-1770), often through his own involvement, circulated as paintings, tapestries, upholstery, prints, ceramic decoration, and models for ceramic statuettes and marble sculptures. The rapprochement between Japonisme and the Rococo Revival, explored in the previous chapter in relation to the 1867 Bracquemond-Rousseau table set, may also be understood in light of the nineteenth-century interest in different models for cross-medium dialogue.

Exemplary of the cross-medium and cross-cultural connections that resulted from this interest is the simultaneous presence of a Japanese motif on a manufactured ceramic table set and in an oil-on-canvas painting. Henri Lambert, who worked for both Sèvres and Haviland (as mentioned in Chapter 2), provided designs for a table service. The ceramic set was produced by Eugène Rousseau, the marchand-éditeur with whom Bracquemond collaborated for the *Manga*-inspired set discussed in the previous chapter. Dating from 1873-1875, the Lambert-Rousseau service was more expensive than the Bracquemond-Rousseau set, but similarly marketed for everyday use.[329] Japanese painting manuals, available in European collections, inspired Lambert's casual brushwork. Specifically, Lambert drew inspiration from Hiroshige's *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō* of 1854 and, for later editions of the service, Kōno Bairei's *Album of 100 birds* of 1881 and

[329] Thiebaut 2008.

Kyōsai's *Drawings for Pleasure* of the same year.[330] In both execution and subject, the playfulness of Lambert's designs evokes the Japanese haikai notion of *karumi* (lightness), discussed in the first section of the previous chapter as a key ingredient of Japanese self-referentiality. A couple of year later, in 1876, Claude Monet painted *La Japonaise,* a portrait of his wife Camille wearing an elaborate kimono against the backdrop of a wall arrangement of Japanese fans. One of these depicted fans features the same design that Lambert used for two of the plates in his 1873-75 service (**Fig.111**).[331] As a collector of Japanese prints, a colleague of Duret, and a friend of Clemenceau, who had his own extensive collection of Japanese ceramic incense boxes, Monet was a full participant in Japonisme and a member of the network sketched in Chapter 2. As such, he might have very well seen the plates of the Lambert-Rousseau service. Alternatively, both Lambert and Monet might have used the same Japanese print as inspiration for their art in different mediums. Another possibility is that a French fan manufacture took the motif from a Japanese print and, subsequently, Lambert and Monet emulated the fan in ceramics and painting, respectively. Within a few years, the same motif appeared on a Japanese print, possibly a fan, a set of ceramic objects, and a painting.

In the art-historical literature on the traditional sub-field of "decorative arts," specialists have long been aware of the transfer of shapes, textures, and motifs from one medium to the other, but, as Bernhard Heitmann pointed out, connoisseurs typically only specialize in one medium and are therefore less likely to devote time and attention to cross-medium

[330] Ibid.

[331] Weisberg, 1975.

phenomena.[332] According to Heitmann, porcelain was a privileged site for such trans-medium borrowings and adaptations in Western Europe, because – as a newly developed material enabled by the discovery of hard-paste porcelain in 1710 in Meissen – it encouraged producers to update the new medium, as it were, by importing shapes and motifs that had been developed in other materials like silver.[333] This insight highlights the long history that preceded late nineteenth-century cross-medium practices. It also helps elucidate what was different about that late nineteenth-century moment, specifically the use of cross-medium emulation in projects that involved the "fine arts" and the centrality of this practice in contemporaneous discourses on art, craft, and design.

Japoniste ceramics contributed motifs to the "new painting" of the Impressionists, epitomizing the influence of historically "decorative art" on the avant-garde art that openly challenged the conventions of historically "fine art." This porous boundary was reaffirmed when exponents of the fine arts – painters like Bracquemond and sculptors like Rodin – worked in collaboration with entrepreneurs and potters on japoniste ceramic projects. A striking example is the visual and conceptual tension at the core of ceramics conceived by Rodin and Carrier-Belleuse (both mentioned in the social network analysis in Chapter 2). Commissioned by the French manufacture at Choisy-le-Roi and including both ceramics-like and sculpture-like elements, the *Vase of the Titans* (**Fig. 112**) is perhaps the most ambitious of the Carrier-Belleuse-Rodin projects. We have seen an

[332] Bernhard Heitmann, "Migration and Metamorphosis: The Transformation of Shapes, Ornaments, and Materials" in the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 37 (2002), p. 107.

[333] Heitmann, "Migration and Metamorphosis: The Transformation of Shapes, Ornaments, and Materials," pp. 112-113.

example of the vulnerable delineation between ceramic art and sculptural art in the section on 1900 Fukagawa objects in the previous chapter, specifically pertaining to the sculptural quality of the molded dragons that top the 1900 vases and echo the relief decoration on the vessels' surfaces. Not coincidentally, these Fukagawa vases are exemplary of the reinvention of japoniste vocabulary in Japan in the Meiji and Taisho periods. In the *Vase of the Titans*, the expressive force of the titans modeled by Rodin is paired with the playfulness of a lizard-and-oak-leaves motif, designed by Carrier-Belleuse and mostly likely inspired by the East Asian bird-and-flower pictorial tradition. This interpretation of bird-and-flower echoes Bracquemond's equally playful pairings of *Manga*-inspired animal and vegetal motifs for his 1867 table service. In a reversal of canonical roles, Rodin's titans, modeled on studies after Michelangelo that Rodin had done in Italy in 1875,[334] serve as support for, and are thus visually subordinated to, the vessel featuring Carrier-Belleuse's version of the bird-and-flower genre.

To attribute the aesthetic of the titans to Rodin and that of the supported vessel to Carrier-Belleuse is to oversimplify the close dialogue between the two artists. On the one hand, Carrier-Belleuse may have had more agency in the design of the product than it had been assumed, as he authored the preliminary drawing of the vase, all elements comprised, while Rodin was working for Carrier-Belleuse in the latter's studio.[335] It is also worth mentioning the mutual affinity of the two for the other's preferred medium: Rodin is

[334] Object file for "Vase of the Titans," Detroit Institute of Arts, consulted on site, April 2016.

[335] "Rodin's Titans," *Cleveland Museum of Art Members Magazine*, vol. 36 (Sept. 1996), p. 6.

known to have said that his foundational gifts were ceramics and drawing,[336] while Carrier-Belleuse, although best remembered as a ceramist, had a prolific and commercially successful career as a sculptor working in bronze and marble.[337] On the other hand, Rodin was more intimately a part of Carrier-Belleuse's japoniste circles than it is widely accepted. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Rodin collected Japanese arts and especially Japanese prints. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, he collaborated with other japoniste ceramists, including Jean Carriès, Ernest Chaplet, Adrien Dalpayrat, Taxile Doat, and Paul Jeanneney, who also created ceramic versions of Rodin's sculptures.[338] In Jeanneney's house, like other japoniste ceramic designers and producers, Rodin became acquainted with Jeanneney's extensive and varied collection of Japanese ceramics. These artistic and social intersections suggest that the contrasting nature of the *Vase of the Titans* is a choice on the part of both artists.

The integration of sculptural elements like Fukagawa's dragons and Rodin's titan figures in ceramic objects that had international visibility tested the limits of pre-established medium and genre hierarchies. As is well documented, Rodin struggled with the Academy's resistance to his vision for sculpture, but tirelessly found new creative resources – like the man with the broken nose who served as his model[339] – and new outlets – like his collaborations with Sèvres and with Carrier-Belleuse – to bring his ideas

[336] Anne Lajoix, "Auguste Rodin et les arts du feu," *Revue de l'art*, no. 116 (1997), p. 76.

[337] "Biography" entry for "Albert Carrier-Belleuse," National Gallery of Art. Retrieved at: https://www.nga.gov/Collection/artist-info.2057.html. Last accessed: December 12, 2017.

[338] Lajoix, "Auguste Rodin et les arts du feu," pp. 80-84.

[339] Object file for "Vase of the Titans," Detroit Institute of Arts, consulted on site, April 2016.

to fruition and to showcase them in contexts that disrupted convention. Not unlike Laurent Bouvier, who married painting and ceramics in his artistic practice, Carrier-Belleuse interwove sculpture and ceramics in ways that changed the values attached to each category, not necessarily in "downgrading" the former and "elevating" the latter, but in forging a shared vocabulary that challenged the viability of the hierarchy itself. Transpositions of sculptural works, usually of monumental scale, in the ceramic medium, usually at a small, portable scale, did not begin with Carrier-Belleuse. This practice goes back centuries; a well-known eighteenth-century example is Etienne Maurice Falconet's replication, in biscuit porcelain, of Jean-Baptiste Pigalle's marble sculpture titled *Friendship* and commissioned by Mme. de Pompadour as an expression of her changing status at court, from mistress to friend of the king (**Fig. 113**). This model of cross-medium imitation was predicated on issues of portability and ease of multiplication and distribution. What changed, or at least became paramount, in late nineteenth-century collaborations like Carrier-Belleuse's and Rodin's was the mutual input of both ceramist and sculptor in the design and execution of ceramics with sculptural elements. Also at work was the collaborative reimagining of Japanese visual sources and aesthetic principles, such as the playfulness that, in the *Vase of the Titans*, governed the mix-and-match character of its constitutive elements.

Drawing on the Kantian notion of parergon, I propose that we reflect on the definition of decoration as that which is extrinsic and whose role is to emphasize what it is framing.[340] The case has been made that the French ormolu fittings added to East Asian porcelain in the eighteenth century functioned that way;[341] by contrast, nineteenth-century japoniste ceramics like the *Vase of the Titans* typically exemplify the contrary, where metal fittings, surface decoration or modeled bases and/ or finials semantically "invade" the main object, shifting from the extrinsic to the intrinsic. If arabesque and chinoiserie can be understood as parerga in the Kantian sense, nineteenth-century japoniste ceramic decoration undoes that model in that it disrupts and repurposes the object itself. We have seen it with Dammouse's folded corners (in Chapter 2), with Bracquemond's *Manga* motifs that sprawl across the concentric sections of the ceramic plate and with Fukagawa's self-reflective ceramic-themed motifs (in Chapter 3), and with Carrier-Belleuse's and Rodin's *Vase of the Titans* (in the current section). As marginalia or "decorative" support for the ceramic vase, the titans drawn by Carrier-Belleuse and modeled by Rodin are anything but decorative; it can be argued that their expressive force "takes over" the object, inviting the viewer to reflect on the self-referential reinvention of conventional understandings of decoration.

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[340] Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgment*, trans. J. C. Meredith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952). There is a vast literature on Kant's writings on parerga, from Derrida's interpretation (Jacques Derrida, "Parergon," in *The Truth in Painting*, trans. G. Benningron and I. McLeod (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987)) to recent applications of the concept to different sub-fields of art history (e.g. classical art, the Renaissance, contemporary art, etc.)

[341] Sargentson, 1996; Watson, 1986. See discussion of marchands-merciers in Chapter 2.

The result of another collaboration between Carrier-Belleuse and Rodin, *The Abduction of Hippodamie* is a bronze statuette in whose composition the two artists placed, at the very center, a water jug (**Fig. 114**). Equally in bronze as the rest of the object, this water jug is understood to be the representation of a ceramic vessel and, at technical level, is used to physically balance and support the equestrian group. This collaborative project in another medium – bronze – literally and metonymically places, at the core of this three-dimensional image, a token of the ceramic art that united Rodin and Carrier-Belleuse, their social circles, their combined reimagining of decoration, and their efforts to change established hierarchies of medium.

As features of an emerging "modern art," the emphasis on materiality, the inclusion of cross-cultural and cross-medium references, and the self-referential cultivation of tension between "decoration" and object are present not only in the works of painters from Manet to Matisse (and beyond)[342], but also in the ceramics of japoniste potters and multi-medium artists, from Chaplet to Carrier-Belleuse to Rodin. Returning to Vogt's statement, evoked earlier in this section, the reformation of the "fine" arts influenced the changing values governing the "decorative" arts, but one can argue that the opposite is also true. However, more meaningful is the recognition of the shared sources for these forms of innovation across mediums. Often invoked as characteristic of the nineteenth century, this multiplicity of styles owed much to the reception of Japanese ceramics and led to a more democratic circulation of visual mechanisms and motifs.

[342] For example: Yves Alain Bois, *Painting as Model* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1990), p. 6.

4.2. Shaping a History of Japanese Art in Japan and in France: Underexplored Connections

The previous section explored the many ways in which Japanese and japoniste ceramics contributed significantly to changing the landscape of art values and hierarchies in late nineteenth-century France. This second and last section of the current chapter is devoted to exploring the same phenomenon from the Japanese perspective, investigating the impact of japoniste ceramics and of circular Japonisme (as defined in Chapter 3) on the formation of discourses on Japanese arts in Meiji-period Japan. I hope to show the close connection between French discourses on Japanese arts and those developed contemporaneously in Japan. In particular, I suggest that the many modes of expression that can be categorized under the umbrella of self-referentiality (as shown in Chapter 3) were at the core of the newly developed definitions of Japanese arts in Japan, paralleling, and even derived from, those established in japoniste circles in France.

Instrumental in the transfer and transformation of information and values is translation, understood both literally and as a cultural mechanism. According to intellectual historian Sho Konishi, translation functions at three levels: first, the identification of difference, especially when the translation is from a foreign language into one's own; second, the process of rendering familiar when foreign concepts or practices are to be implemented in one's own culture (what Konishi calls the "history of not yet"); and third, the exclusion of other narratives when the translation not only transcribes meaning, but also prunes

material in order to favor one interpretation.[343] Cross-cultural exchange such as the circular ceramic Japonisme discussed here presents all three above-mentioned aspects to some extent: differences are identified, rendered familiar, and appropriated in ways that fit one's social, cultural, and aesthetic goals. In the previous chapter, we have seen examples of such visual and material translation. The current chapter addresses the translation of concepts, values, and hierarchies, at the level of discourse, in France and in Japan, with a focus on how the above-mentioned aspects are negotiated when European conceptualizations of Japanese arts are translated, literally and figuratively, in Japan.

In the history of discourse on Japanese art, a growing literature is devoted to the terminology of representation, from *shashin* 写真 ("photograph," but also an early Meiji-period term for fidelity in visual representation, as shown by Maki Fukuoka[344]) to *shasei* 写生 ("sketching from nature"), *sha-i* 写意 ("transcription"), and *ki-i* 気意 ("harmonious," "true to nature," "depiction"). I will focus on the terms used, in the late nineteenth century, as a foil to those defining representation, namely "imagination," "fantasy," "invention," "arbitrariness," and even "humor" and "sentiment." My sources for both sets of terms are two of the earliest "histories" of Japanese art: *L'Art japonais* of 1883 by Louis Gonse (influential member of the japoniste network, as shown in Chapter 2) and *Pictorial Arts of Japan* of 1886 by William Anderson (1842-1900), collector and director of the Naval Medical College in Tokyo from 1873 to 1880. In these otherwise

[343] Sho Konishi, lecture delivered in response to the panel, "Terms and Conditions," Conference of the European Association for Asian Art, Zurich, August 2017. Personal communication, September-October 2017.

[344] Maki Fukuoka, *The Premise of Fidelity: Science, Visuality, and Representing the Real in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Stanford University Press, 2012).

dissimilar books, "imagination" and "invention" are used as different from, and even opposed to, "reflection," "naturalism," and "truth." I am using two word clouds to show the two groups of words, as used by Gonse in French and by Anderson in English (**Fig. 115**). To denote a break with representation, the word most often employed by Gonse is "fantaisie;" Anderson's most used word is "arbitrary." Gonse applied the notion of "fantaisie" to the genre scenes of Japanese painter Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650), stressing their imaginative aspect.[345] Gonse also discussed "fantaisie" in the context of netsuke, ceramics, and architecture. Anderson used the term "arbitrary" to mean something contrary to a "faithful impression"[346] of reality. Anderson's examples of use include "arbitrary cloud-forms,"[347] referring to the bands of clouds and mist used as support for text and as segmenting devices in Japanese narrative painting, and "arbitrary lines," which Anderson qualified as "claim[ing] every merit except that of truth."[348]

Gonse's and Anderson's respective portrayals of Japanese art contributed not only to the European discourse on Japanese art, but also to that in Japan. The Japanese translation of Gonse's book was published, in installments, under the title "Gonsu-shi Nihon bijutsu" 根子氏日本美術, in *Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai hōkoku* 日本美術協会報告, the "Reports of the Japan Art Association," from 1893 to 1894, in 12 mostly consecutive volumes. The Japanese translation of Anderson's book, done by Suematsu Kenchō (1855-1920), a

[345] Gonse, *L'art japonais*, p. 48.

[346] Anderson, *Pictorial Arts of Japan*, p. 151.

[347] Ibid.

[348] Anderson, *Pictorial Arts of Japan*, p. 187.

Meiji official and translator into English of the *Tale of Genji*, was published under the title *Nihon bijutsu zensho* in 1896-1897. Both translations involved some paraphrasing. As art historian Satō Dōshin pointed out,[349] the Japanese translations of these European accounts are yet to be explored. Most frequently, the terms used in the periodical of the Japan Art Association as equivalents of Gonse's "fantaisie" are *kōzu* 好事 and *ishō* 意匠; for Anderson's use of "arbitrary," Suematsu most often chose the terms *nin'i* 任意 and *jin'i-teki* 人為的. Translatable to "fantastic," "invention," "random," and "artificial," these Japanese words describe images and objects as construct and artifact.

For Gonse, "fantaisie" was a culturally loaded term, harkening back to Diderot's use of the term in relation to the "têtes de fantaisie" by Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) – portraits shaped by the artist's imagination in ways that tested the limits of accepted portraiture practices in late eighteenth-century France.[350] At least three other meanings were associated with "fantaisie," according to an 1839 dictionary: first, "esprit, pensée, idée" or "wit"; second, "humeur" in the sense of "disposition"; and third, "désir, envie" or "fancy."[351] In *L'art japonais*, Gonse used "fantaisie" primarily in the first sense, that of wit, and in the second sense, that of [artistic] disposition.

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[349] Sato Doshin, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: the Politics of Beauty* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011).

[350] Denis Diderot, "Salon de 1763" and "Salon de 1767" in *Salons*, Sezner and Adhemar, eds. (Paris, 1963); also: Mary Sheriff, "Invention, Resemblance, and Fragonard's Portraits de Fantaisie" in *The Art Bulletin* 69, no. 1 (March 1987), pp. 77-87.

[351] Entry on "fantaisie" in *Pictorial French Dictionary* [Vocabulaire illustré] (C. Tiet, 1839).

The Japanese terms for "fantaisie" in the Japan Art Association periodical - *kōzu* 好事 and *ishō* 意匠 – capture the notion of imagination as ingenuity. *Ishō* 意匠 was a newly employed term for "conception" and "design,"[352] meant to express the original internal cohesiveness of a work of art upon which relies its identity.[353] It is worth noting, I argue, that *ishō* 意匠 also captured, as early as the 1890s, what the French term "fantaisie" brings to the concepts of "idea" and "design" – namely, a conceptual resourcefulness drawing on wit and imagination. Interestingly, the more common word *fushigi* 不思議 was not employed in the Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai periodical to express Gonse's concept, and perhaps appropriately so. As historian Gerald Figal has shown, the notion of *fushigi* – meaning "fantastic," "mysterious," "supernatural" – and its various uses in Japanese culture represented an obsession for some Meiji-period writers, whose discourse on the fantastic became integral to modernity in Japan.[354] For Gonse, "fantaisie" did not refer strictly to the supernatural. Ghosts and monsters are mentioned rarely in his book and typically as what Gonse called "grotesque" figures.[355]

[352] As presented in Chapter 3, Fukagawa Chuji defined his new ceramic enterprise as an expression of the intersection of technique (*gijutsu* 技術) and design (*ishō* 意匠), using relatively new terms in the Japanese language.

[353] Chelsea Foxwell, *Making Modern Japanese-Style Painting: Kano Hogai and the Search for Images* (U. of Chicago Press, 2015), pp. 98-100; Kanro Junki, *Hyōsetsu no bungakushi: Orijinariti no kindai* 剽窃の文学史– オリジナリティ の近代 (Shinwasha, 2011).

[354] Gerald Figal, *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

[355] Gonse, *L'art japonais*, p. 194.

According to the British dictionary of 1886, "arbitrary," the term frequently used by Anderson, captured three interrelated meanings: first, "depending on will or discretion;" second, "founded not on the nature of things;" and third, "bound by no law."[356] The last segment of the definition referred to absolutist power, as in, "an arbitrary government." Anderson used the term mostly in the second sense, namely "founded not on the nature of things," referring to images that are not replicas of reality, but autonomous and self-referential. Suematsu translated Anderson's uses of "arbitrary" with *nin'i* 任意, which captures the facultative aspect, and *jin'i-teki* 人為的, which emphasizes the manmade or artificial aspect, namely that which is not "natural." It is worth mentioning that *nin'i* 任意 was also used, in the late nineteenth century, to translate notions of "liberty," for which there was no equivalent in the Japanese language; as such, the word that Suematsu used to translate Anderson's characterization of Japanese art was simultaneously employed in new phrases such as *nin'i kō no ken* 任意行之權 ("the right of voluntary action"), within Meiji-period translations and commentary on Western notions of freedom and choice.[357] Applied to the realm of art, these two Japanese words describe images and processes that are not mimetic, but rely on artifice and the choices made by the artist.

These French, English, and Japanese terms were used to refer to a wide range of Japanese cultural objects. For Anderson, the band of clouds that enters the room in an image like this one (**Fig. 116**) by Suzuki Harunobu (1724-1770) – also described by Anderson as

[356] Entry on "arbitrary" in *Webster's Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (1886).

[357] Joshua Fogel, ed., *The Emergence of the Modern Sino-Japanese Lexicon: Seven Studies* (Brill, 2015), p. 119.

"conventional" – supplants representation as understood in the Euro-American paradigm with a different kind of truth, that of narrative logic and the formal and conceptual symbiosis of image and text.[358] For Gonse, the "genre scenes" (**Fig. 117**) of painters like Iwasa Matabei or Hanabusa Itchō (1652-1724), although "realist" in their depiction of everyday life, are nonetheless constructs of the painter's imagination.[359] For Anderson, Kenzan's ceramics (**Fig. 118**) exemplify the inventiveness of Japanese motifs.[360] The combination of ceramic skill and pictorial notation made Kenzan an expression of what Gonse called the unity of "fantaisie" across mediums in Japanese arts.[361]

How does the discourse on arbitrary forms and "fantaisie" fit into the overall respective structures of Gonse's and Anderson's "histories"? As shown in this conceptual map (**Fig. 119**),[362] Gonse organized his book by medium, with eight parts devoted to painting, architecture, sculpture, metalwork, lacquer, textiles, ceramics, and printmaking. In many of the terms he used, such as "artist" and "style," Gonse conformed to Western hierarchical values. The opening phrase of the section on painting states: "the history of painting is, in Japan more than elsewhere, the history of art itself."[363] The American poet,

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[358] Anderson, *Pictorial Arts of Japan*, p. 214.

[359] Gonse, *L'art japonais*, p. 48.

[360] Anderson, *Pictorial Arts of Japan*, p. 66. Anderson subordinates the "decorative" art of Kenzan to the "painting" style of Kenzan's brother Korin, arguing that Kenzan imitated Korin.

[361] Gonse, *L'art japonais*, p. 61.

[362] For this map, I drew on Nickerson's translation of Gonse's book. L. Gonse, M.P. Nickerson, trans., *Japanese Art* (Chicago: Belford-Clarke, 1891).

[363] "L'histoire de la peinture est, au Japon plus qu'ailleurs, l'histoire de l'art lui-même." Gonse, *L'art japonais*, p. 5.

collector, and art historian Ernest Fenollosa (1852-1908) criticized Gonse for the unbalanced distribution of content, attributing it to Gonse's allegiance to historic academic criteria – reflected, indeed, in the ordering of sections; however, as Mabuchi Akiko pointed out, Gonse's real emphasis was on what can be categorized as "crafts" according to those same criteria.[364] Perhaps to make the book more legible to the European reader, Gonse chose to respect, at least formally, the very norms that his book challenged. Besides the ample space given the so-called crafts, Gonse devoted lengthy passages to what he called the "école vulgaire" or "the popular school," suggesting an interest in the eccentrics. Gonse wrote about Matabei and ukiyo-e, Korin and Kenzan, Okio and Goshin, and Hokusai, all of whom he saw as parting with the Kano and Tosa traditions and carving their own paths.

Despite a similar preoccupation with imagination in Japanese art, Anderson's book is much different from Gonse's. As shown in this diagram (**Fig. 120**), *Pictorial Arts of Japan* follows a hybrid chronological and thematic structure. Anderson discussed the same topics by date, by technique, by style, etc. More than Gonse, he conformed to Western academic classifications; for example, while Anderson, too, addressed the "popular school," Matabei, and Sotatsu, he nonetheless characterized them as "seceders" and symptomatic of the "decadence" of the Tosa school.[365] Anderson's interest in the decorative as foil to the illusionistic is more evident in the sections dedicated to what he called the "application of pictorial art" to mediums other than painting.

[364] Mabuchi, "Introduction," *L'art japonais* (Ganesha, 2003), p. viii-x.

[365] Anderson, *Pictorial Arts of Japan*, Section I, "General History," chap. 5.

Anderson and Gonse knew of each other's efforts and their publications circulated among others. In *L'art japonais*, Gonse mentioned Anderson's collection and its acquisition by the British Museum.[366] In 1886, in *Pictorial Arts of Japan*, Anderson mentioned Gonse's book.[367] A year later, Gonse published a review of Anderson's book in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. There, Gonse clarified that the two of them had written their respective histories from separate sources;[368] nonetheless, Gonse's review emphasized their awareness of each other's work. As shown in this list (see Table 6 in Appendices, A. Tables), Gonse's and Anderson's books were among several others, dating from the 1870s to the 1910s. Notably, Alcock's *Japanese Art* also emphasized the imagination, especially as connected to what he identified as the extraordinary variety of Japanese visual vocabulary.[369] Hayashi Tadamasa edited the penultimate title in Table 6, for Japan's imperial commission at the 1900 World's Fair. This book, too, mentioned that Japanese painting and sculpture are more "idealistic" than "realistic" and stressed the

[366] Ibid., p. 6.

[367] Anderson, *Pictorial Arts of Japan* (1886), 2007 edition, p. vii.

[368] Louis Gonse, "The Pictorial Arts of Japan, par le docteur William Anderson. – Descriptive and historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum, par le même." "Bibliographie" section. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 36 (1887), pp. 171-76.

[369] Sir Rutherford Alcock, "Japanese Art," *The Art Journal* 40 (1878).

variety and inventiveness of Japanese pictorial motifs.[370] Several years earlier, Hayashi also played a role in *L'art japonais* as adviser to Gonse. He translated the manuscript *Fusō gafu,* written by his colleague Wakai Kanesaburō, in order to assist Gonse, who acknowledged Hayashi's help.[371] This relationship illustrates the social trajectory of this emphasis on the imaginative and the arbitrary as characteristic of Japanese art. The Gonse-Hayashi collaboration is one of many that shaped the simultaneous development of discourse on Japanese art in Japan, France, England, and the United States.

Both authors had access to some sources on Japanese literature and visual culture. They attempted to "translate" knowledge derived from these sources into taxonomies of Japanese art, but barriers of language hindered their respective understandings. A list of Anderson's sources was included in his 1886 "Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum," occasioned by the Museum's purchase of Anderson's collection.[372] There he listed compendia of Japanese

[370] This official Japanese "history" of Japanese art was originally published in French in 1900 and subsequently published in Japanese as "Nihon teikoku bijutsu ryakushi kō" ["A draft of the brief history of the art of the empire of Japan"] in 1901. Hayashi's introduction to the original French version was removed from the Japanese translation, in an effort to establish the Japanese version of Japan's first "Japanese art history" as the official report of a normative collective author. Mabuchi also noted the erasure of Hayashi's name and contribution from the Japanese version of the 1900 "history," in the paper "The 1900 Paris World Exposition and *Histoire de l'art du Japon*", at the Twenty-First International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural Property, organized by Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, December 3-5, 1997.

[371] *Hayashi Tadamasa: Japonisme and Cultural Exchanges*, pp. 36-37. Gonse, *L'art japonais*, vol. I, p. iii-iv. The *Fusō gafu* 扶桑 畫譜 [genealogy of paintings of Japan, the country East of China] presented a sketch of the history of Japan's paintings.

[372] "Prof. William Anderson (Biographical details)." The British Museum. Retrieved at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=149260. Last accessed: July 9, 2017.

artists' works, illustrated books of folk tales, and translations of literary texts, showing an understanding – albeit limited – of Chinese sources and of the interrelationships between literature and visual culture in Japan.

One other instrumental source for both Anderson and Gonse, not listed in the "Descriptive and Historical Catalogue," is Ninagawa Noritane's multi-volume *Kanko zusetsu* 観古図説 of 1876-1878. Gonse and Anderson were aware of the *Kanko zusetsu* through different channels. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Ninagawa advised Siegfried Bing in Japan after having authored *Kanko zusetsu*. English translations circulated, too, since the 1890s.[373] Ninagawa included illustrations of ceramics that he considered exemplary of various styles, like this ceramic bowl by Kenzan. It was these objects that Bing sought and acquired, some directly from Ninagawa's collection.[374] Then, Bing wrote the section on ceramics in *L'art japonais*, at Gonse's request. Regarding Anderson's ties to Ninagawa, the American collector Edward Sylvester Morse, who knew both Ninagawa and Bing, mentioned that Anderson, too, acquired ceramics illustrated in *Kanko zusetsu*.[375] How is this source helpful in understanding the shared emphasis on self-referential characteristics in Gonse's and Anderson's otherwise diverging books? Due to

[373] The American collector Charles Lang Freer mentions, in a letter dated October 16, 1896 to the Salem-based dealer Matsuki Bunkio (1867-1940), that the latter would have authored an English translation of Ninagawa's book and subsequently shared it with Freer (Richard Wilson, *The Potter's Brush*, p. 31, n. 34, p. 38). Freer also owned a typescript English translation of Ninagawa's book by the New York- and Boston-based dealer H.R. Yamamoto (Freer Archives, Smithsonian Institution). E. S. Morse mentioned another English translation by a yet unidentified Mr. Kono (Morse Papers, Peabody Essex Museum).

[374] Edward Sylvester Morse, "Ninagawa's Types of Japanese Pottery," IX: 10.

[375] Ibid.

both authors' interest in collecting Japanese ceramics, the crystallization of their discourses on Japanese aesthetics was influenced by their understanding of Japanese ceramics. In Gonse's book, the chapter on ceramics is the only one that Gonse chose not to write himself, offering it to Bing, whom he presented as a specialist. Also, if Gonse's and Anderson's books were initially written in French and English, respectively, and subsequently translated into Japanese, Ninagawa's text was written in Japanese, published with a French translation, and subsequently translated into English. These cross-directional translating efforts, simultaneous with the very formation of "originals", contributed to a negotiation of norms on Japanese art as an emerging field of study.

For example, Kenzan ware is discussed in all three books – Ninagawa's, Gonse's, and Anderson's. The three writers, together with Bing, the author of the chapter on ceramics in *L'art japonais*, owned pieces either by Kenzan or attributed to him. For Anderson, Kenzan did not fit his conceptualization of Japanese pottery as devoid of pictorial decoration, as Kenzan was, in Anderson's words, "a decorator of pottery."[376] Anderson, nonetheless, had a positive opinion of Kenzan, and cited Gonse on Kenzan's brother Korin.[377] The more Korin and Kenzan became conceptualized as Japanese "art," through efforts like Bing's and Gonse's, the more Kenzan's ties to artisanal ceramics made the latter more difficult to place in Western hierarchies of value. The longstanding cultivation of a Rinpa aesthetic in Japan and the praise granted Korin and Kenzan in France contributed to the relative prominence of this strand of the Japanese artistic tradition in

[376] Anderson, *Pictorial Arts of Japan,* p. 66.

[377] Ibid.

the emergent histories of Japanese art in both Japan and France. Considering Kenzan's playful and logocentric self-referentiality, it is not surprising that the visibility of Kenzan ware and the cross-cultural interest in self-referential expression fueled each other.

As shown in Chapter 2, Gonse, Bing, Hayashi, and the World's Fairs operated, as highly connected cultural brokers, in a tightly knit social network. If only because of their high social visibility, Gonse's and Anderson's books became references for collectors and artists. For Gonse at least, that was exactly what he intended. Gonse expressed, in his "Introduction", his desire that Japanese arts would help French designers and artisans to unlearn the formulaic use of symmetry and to understand the value of formal synthesis.[378] To European and American readers, Gonse's and Anderson's books could have proven useful for their illustrations, as well, such as this curated display of tea bowls from Bing's collection (Figure 77). It is worth noting that such illustrations, while instrumental for the intelligibility and popularity of the two books in Europe, were excluded from the Japanese versions, perhaps for technical and cost-related reasons, but mostly, I would suggest, for the following three reasons: first, because the Japanese readers of such publications would have already been familiar with the names and objects mentioned by Gonse and Anderson; second, due to difficulties in "translating," in a more familiar representational idiom, the European-style chiaroscuro renditions of the illustrated Japanese images and objects; and third, because both Suematsu and the Japan Art Association took an interest in the two books because they provided a working vocabulary and a toolbox for describing, classifying, and interpreting Japanese arts.

[378] Gonse, *L'art japonais*, vol. I, p. ii. Mabuchi, "Introduction," pp. ix-x.

In Japan, state-sponsored classifications of Japanese art reinforced the notion that painting was "art" while other mediums were expressions of "craft," emulating historical Western hierarchies.[379] Gonse's *L'art japonais* was a product of the opposite trend of revising such values in light of lessons derived from Japanese arts. The publication of a translation of Gonse's book in the periodical of the Japan Art Association can also be seen in light of the following two aspects. First, it was not uncommon for the Association's periodical to publish translations, showing an interest in the foreign reception of Japanese arts, and influencing the discourse on the relation between historical and new works.[380] Second, it is perhaps not coincidental that the Japan Art Association featured Gonse's book, considering that Fenollosa, who disagreed with Gonse, was central to the rival Tokyo School of Fine Arts. The Japan Art Association adopted this name as a reaction to the *nihonga*[381]-driven Tokyo School of Fine arts in 1887; the two organizations competed for imperial and international attention.[382]

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[379] Sato, p. 134.

[380] Hiroko McDermott, "Meiji Kyoto Textile Art and Takashimaya" in *Monumenta Nipponica* 65, no. 1 (spring 2010), pp. 54, 66.

[381] Literally, *nihonga* 日本画 means "Japanese painting." It originated in the Meiji period to designate painting that conformed to styles developed in Japan, distinguishable from "Western" styles of painting.

[382] Sato, pp. 45-47; Rosina Buckland, *Painting Nature for the Nation: Taki Katei and the Challenges to Sinophile Culture in Meiji Japan* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2012), pp. 107-109.

In the case of Suematsu's translation of Anderson, there is even richer evidence of a theoretical and sociocultural alignment of author and translator. Suematsu[383] is known to have been an acquaintance of Anderson.[384] According to literature scholar Michael Emmerich, Anderson and Suematsu shared a similar view of the *Tale of Genji* as reflecting Japanese social and cultural realities.[385] This affinity in interpretation helped legitimize both Anderson's and Suematsu's intellectual positions, especially in Japan. In addition, Suematsu presumably strategically adapted his translation of the *Tale of Genji* to appeal to British values.[386] His strategic approach to translation must be considered in the case of Anderson's book as well; understood in this light, Suematsu's translation was another stepping stone in an effort to bridge and exchange aesthetic values, against the backdrop of an emerging canon of Japanese arts and literature.

These contextual considerations highlight the malleability of the cross-cultural understanding of pictorial self-reference, central not only to the discourse on Japanese art in the Meiji period, but also to the effect of this discourse on contemporaneous Japanese and japoniste art. Through the mediation of an international network, objects described or illustrated in Gonse's and Anderson's books affected new art in Europe and the United States – such as Bracquemond's ceramic designs and Chaplet's stoneware glazes – and

[383] Rebekah Clements, "Suematsu Kenchō and the first English translation of Genji monogatari: translation, tactics, and the 'women's question'", *Japan Forum*, 2011.

[384] Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and World Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), p. 272.

[385] Emmerich, p. 292.

[386] Clements, "Suematsu Kenchō and the first English translation (…)," *Japan Forum*, 2011.

new art in Japan resulting from a conscious engagement with Japonisme – from Fukagawa porcelain to ceramics by Hamada Shoji (1894-1978). Featuring pictorial motifs or the sheer quality of new glazes, the above-mentioned examples are visually different, but they all share a genealogy of thought that includes Gonse's and Anderson's discourses on inventiveness and arbitrary form. These authors' privileged terms, from "fantaisie" to *nin'i* 任意, were not only a way of describing historical works, but also an incentive for revising values and rejuvenating local production. Such terms played an active role in the uroboric cycles of translation and of tradition and innovation.

At the level of discourse, enabled by loops of cross-cultural influence, this emerging shared language about art values shaped what Lydia Liu called a "narrative of desire" between representation and imagination,[387] paving the way to an autonomous and global artistic vocabulary. If in Euro-American contexts the "desire" is to borrow and adapt solutions from East Asian arts, what is the significance, in Japanese context, of the "desire" for Japanese values as filtered through foreign scrutiny? Of course, this question is inseparable from the emergence of nationalism against the backdrop of industrialization, Westernization, and globalization. Liu provides a useful analysis of the relation between experiencing and narrating the self, arguing that "self-reliance (…) becomes a necessary means of survival in the modern world" and "the time that separates the experiencing self from the narrating self becomes circular."[388] Because of the circular

[387] Lydia Liu, "Narratives of Desire: Negotiating the Real and the Fantastic" in *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity - China, 1900-1937* (Stanford University Press, 1995).

[388] Liu, pp. 89, 170.

process that led to the formation of this transnational discourse, the importation of Gonse's and Anderson's accounts is not so much an expression of self-colonization[389] as it is an affirmation of self-awareness via the "mirror" of Japonisme. The consequences of this process are most immediately tangible in the emergence of *nihonjinron* 日本人論.[390]

To review, the reception of Japonisme in Meiji-period Japan, especially at the level of ceramics, manifested itself through the adoption and transformation of French japoniste motifs in Japanese ceramics (as shown in Chapter 3) and through the translation and interpretation of Euro-American discourses in the emergent discourse on Japanese arts in Japan (as shown in the current section). A third mode of "circular" Japonisme emerged later, in the Taisho (1912-1926) and early Showa (from 1926 to World War II) periods; this other channel entailed the "recuperation" of pre-Meiji Japanese ceramics, notably porcelain, from pre-modern European collections, via the efforts of Japanese individuals, motivated by growing nationalism. Epitomizing this phenomenon is the case of Kanbara Hakaru (1896-1987), who began studying Japanese ceramics history in the 1920s, traveled to Europe to acquire Japanese porcelain from former princely collections in the 1970s, and donated his collection to his native Arita – the "birthplace" of Japanese

[389] Self-colonization has been defined as the self-imposed importation of dominant Western ideas into "peripheral" communities in the context of identity formation and nation building. See: Barbara Arneil, *Domestic Colonies: The Turn Inward to Colony* (Oxford University Press, 2017); Jan P. Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh, ed., *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge, and Power* (London: Atlantic Highlands, 1995).

[390] Literally "discourse on the Japanese," *nihonjinron* comprises theories that presuppose the cohesiveness and uniqueness of Japanese cultural and national identity. Problematic at best, this discourse has been critiqued in a vast literature, including: Sugimoto Yoshio, "Making Sense of Nihonjinron" in *Thesis Eleven*, vol. 57, no. 1 (1999); Eythor Eyjolfsson, *Die vernebelte Welt des Japanischen: einige linguistische Aspekte des Nihonjin-ron* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995).

porcelain – to help establish a national museum of Japanese ceramics.[391] However, mostly unbeknownst to Kanbara, among the Arita porcelain ware that he purchased in Europe were numerous French imitations thereof, produced by the prolific ceramist and forger Edmé Samson (1810-1891).[392] The current installation of Kanbara's collection, on display at the Kyushu National Ceramic Museum, labels the Samson pieces as such.

The Kanbara collection, with its after-the-fact ties to Samson, deserves further investigation, and I hope to address it in the future. For the purposes of the current study, it carries the legacy of the shared fascination, in France and Japan, with Japanese ceramics circulating across cultures, affecting nationalism in post-Meiji Japan.[393] Kanbara's collection also refocuses our attention, now, on Samson, whose enterprise may be understood as a form of collecting by replicating. As such, the Samson wares that Kanbara acquired as Japanese objects function, in retrospect, as a conceptual link between collecting foreign artifacts (e.g. Japanese porcelain) and the local emulation of foreign artifacts (e.g. French japoniste porcelain). Vilified and an outsider in the japoniste social network, Samson nonetheless reflected the full spectrum of the taste in ceramics of

[391] Kanbara Collection Archives, Kyushu National Ceramic Museum, Arita, Saga Prefecture, Japan. Accessed December 2015.

[392] Personal communication with Suzuta Yukio, director of the Kyushu National Ceramic Museum, and Yamamoto Ayako, curator at the same institution, October 2017.

[393] Nationalistic beliefs and pursuits in early twentieth-century Japan had many roots and diverse manifestations, including: the Shinto Revival, rooted in the shogunal support of the indigenous religion, and advocating a return to masterpieces like the Manyōshū and Genji Monogatari, understood as untouched by foreign (specifically Chinese) influences; reactionary attitudes, prompted by the dissolution of self-isolation in 1858, calling for a restoration of imperial power and a complete rejection of the West; and an influential faction that championed a "middle way" of adopting Western knowledge in the sciences and the arts, while preserving Japanese ethics. Donald Keene et al, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. II (Columbia University Press, 1958).

the second half of the nineteenth century in France.[394] Samson's versatility and technical ingenuity made it possible for his manufactory to produce such faithful copies of diverse styles.[395] In the realm of Japanese and japoniste ceramics, his products, especially juxtaposed to Japanese porcelain of European provenance in the Kanbara collection, represent today a mirror of French-Japanese intercultural perception and appropriation, adding another layer – peripheral and minimally celebrated – to the current discussion of the reception of Japonisme in Japan. A pertinent and revelatory comparison can be made between the Kanbara collection and the Matsukata collection; like Kanbara, Matsukata collected Japanese prints from Europe – specifically, from the French collector Henri Véver (1854-1942) – and "returned" them to Japan with the purpose of making them available to the Japanese public in a newly established art museum.[396] Chronologically past the timeframe of the current study, the Kanbara and Matsukata collections warrant further investigation in the context – presented here – of the intertwined emergence of discourse on Japanese arts in France and Japan.

[394] Florence Slitine, *Samson: génie de l'imitation* (Paris: Massin, 2002).

[395] Ibid.

[396] Archives, The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, accessed July 2017. Also (for a general overview and among numerous sources): Miyashita Yuichiro, "La présence culturelle de la France au Japon et la collection Matsukata" in *Relations Internationales*, vol. 134, no. 2 (2008). I am indebted to Professor Jonathan Reynolds for suggesting this comparison.

Chapter 5
Rewriting Histories of Art, Now

Through the lens of the ceramic medium, we have seen that, from approximately 1866 to at least 1904, a constellation of Japanese aesthetic values, all under the umbrella of self-referentiality, influenced the work of French artists, cultural entrepreneurs (the marchand-éditeurs), and ceramic manufactures. These cultural agents began unprecedented collaborations that resulted in a varied production of japoniste ceramics (from manufactured tableware to handmade pottery). Combining visual characteristics drawn from Japanese ceramics and prints in French collections with the respective visions of the creators involved, these ceramics blurred the line between "art" and "design"; their prominence in influential social circles enabled them to also indirectly affect discourse on the revision of French art values. Their critical and commercial success stimulated an increasingly liberalized art market. Their medium-referential and self-referential characteristics became integral to the French artistic vocabulary at a time when expressionism and abstractionism were taking center stage. As this concluding chapter will begin to suggest, the aesthetic paradigm of japoniste ceramics was part and parcel of the set of values that define (twentieth-century) modernism. This model of understanding the emergence of modernism is not, by far, the one and only route to modernism. There are other extremely significant factors, including: the impact of impressionist and post-impressionist painting[397]; changes in societal patterns regarding regimes of attention[398];

[397] For example, see: Yves-Alain Bois, *Painting as Model* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).

[398] Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

and primitivism and the zeitgeist of a collective and introspective quest for purity[399]. (Cheetham, 1991; Butler, 1994). Japonisme, as manifested in ceramics, is one of several channels through which to understand the crystallization of the concept of modernism. That said, given the cross-historical and dual French-Japanese perspective adopted in the current study, we can choose to see an even bigger picture—one that takes a step back from canonical "–isms" like modernism and focuses instead on this sliver of art history as a consequential feedback loop of cross-cultural influence in global context. This perspective will be addressed in the second half of this concluding chapter.

To begin, then, with the consequences of the japoniste ceramic phenomenon on the major developments in painting occurring in the last decades of the long nineteenth century, it is important to recognize the interconnectedness of this ceramics-driven Japonisme with the Arts and Crafts and the Art Nouveau movements, in that they simultaneously reinforced an unprecedented interest in learning, and using, the self-referential and playful vocabulary and techniques of the "decorative arts," especially as derived from Japanese arts. In parallel, the (rather superficial) study of ukiyo-e further encouraged French artists to derive subject matter from daily life and current events. This double focus on playful self-referentiality, inextricably linked to the medium and the surface, and on the here and now became, at the turn of the century, integral to the core art values that drove innovative art practices in avant-garde communities in the Euro-American world. From Manet to Picasso, the artists whose paradigms included a familiarity with japoniste

[399] Christopher Butler, *Early Modernism: Literature, Music, and Painting in Europe, 1900-1916* (Oxford, 1994); Mark Cheetham, *The Rhetoric of Purity: Essentialist Theory and the Advent of Abstract Painting* (Cambridge, 1991).

ceramics shared a preoccupation with art that embraced non-representation, an acknowledgment of its own materiality, and sociopolitical commentary.

The Hokusai-inspired motifs on the Bracquemond-Rousseau table service (Figure 79), explored in Chapter 3, and the Japanese fish motif featured in both Monet's painting and Lambert's tableware (Figure 109), discussed in Chapter 4, exemplify the cross-cultural and cross-medium circulation of Japanese motifs with which French artists, critics, and collectors were familiar (and fascinated). To put pressure on this aspect, what can we conclude about its effects on "modern" painting, in a historically responsible way? These motifs were copied and adapted because their expressive potential was recognized and sought. In 1884, the Symbolist painter Ary Renan concluded, in a text about the influence of the arts of Japan on contemporaneous art, that symbol as principle was constitutive of the category of "Japanese art."[400] In line with this sentiment, it is safe to say that these Japanese and japoniste ceramic motifs were thought to express ideas and feelings inasmuch as (or better than) narrative and/ or didactic representations. From this perspective, ceramic Japonisme can be understood as a foundational ingredient for symbolist expressions in the visual arts. The focus on the expressive and the symbolic in early twentieth-century French arts—in ceramics, prints, sculpture, and painting—was fueled by the widespread presence of the metonymical and the fragmentary in Japanese art (e.g. *rusu moyō*, the vegetable *nehan* 涅槃, figurative or non-figurative motifs from literary sources on ceramics and objects in other mediums, etc.).

[400] Ary Renan, "L'art japonais" in *La Nouvelle Revue*, Paris, 1884, p. 73.

As we have seen throughout this study, the insistence on the material and semantic realities of the medium was cultivated through Japanese and japoniste decorative programs that entailed lush glazes and rough textures, like in Chaplet's pots (Figure 60), or shapes and textures that emulated other materials, other cultures, and other time periods, like Mokubei's and – later on – Haviland's ceramics (Figures 25 and 63). The altering impact of the medium on the subject matter or, more fundamentally, on the identity of the object is another "lesson" of this aesthetic and cultural phenomenon that paved the way to the renewed investment in materiality and process-transparent art-making, both key ingredients of what we now understand as modern art. The metonymical dimension, mentioned above, and the emphasis on materiality are key ingredients that French artists, especially in ceramics, adopted from Japanese models. It is safe to suggest that this influence was integral to the avant-garde zeitgeist within which tokens of materials were added to paintings to emphasize the surface and to construct a self-referential realm—in line with later developments like synthetic cubism. This chain of influence can be traced at a social level as well, considering that Frank Burty Haviland, Charles Haviland's son, steeped in the tradition of Japanese and japoniste ceramics, was a founding member of the arts community of Céret that nourished the development of Picasso, Burty Haviland's friend, as well of Gris and Braque.[401] This collective understanding of Japanese arts, as filtered by japoniste objects, trained Céret artists, I suggest, to recognize the aesthetic principles of playfulness and self-

[401] The role of the "school" of Céret in the development of cubist art is well documented. See, for example, *André Salmon on French Modern Art* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) and Yves-Alain Bois and Katharine Streip, "Kahnweiler's Lesson" in *Representations* (1987). Primary sources are available in the archives of the Musée d'art moderne de Céret, founded in 1950 by Frank Burty Haviland and Pierre Brune.

referentiality in other arts, notably African, and in their own respective experiments, not only in painting, but also in ceramics and sculpture.

We can, therefore, go as far as to say that japoniste ceramics contributed to the process by which ornament became integral to modernist aesthetic. The notion that decoration played a role in the formation of modernism runs counter to the fact that abstract artists had and have maintained, to this day, an anti-decorative position.[402] After critics and historians like Gonse, Anderson, and Hayashi developed a vocabulary that emphasized the arbitrary and the imaginative, based on their understandings of Japanese arts (as shown in Chapter 4), the discourse on modernism refocused attention on the Western agents and objects that grew from that japoniste tradition, embracing positions that encouraged an opposition between abstraction (regarded as art) and decoration (regarded as pseudo-art). This early twentieth-century development brought back, to some extent, the historical hierarchies that Japonisme shook. Integral to historical definitions of the "decorative" is its subservience to function—an aspect that is at odds with the self-referential and medium-centric dimensions explored here. In the early twentieth century, forms historically associated with the "decorative arts" (e.g. ceramics, metalwork, jewelry, etc.) began to be used for their visual qualities only. Intentionally removing or de-emphasizing the utilitarian dimension, this mode of art making is particularly prominent in ceramics, where the styles and techniques once used for pottery began to be

[402] Elissa Auther, "The Decorative, Abstraction, and the Hierarchy of Art and Craft in the Art Criticism of Clement Greenberg" in *Oxford Art Journal* 27, no. 3 (2004). M. Cheetham, *The Rhetoric of Purity (...)*.

applied to ceramic objects of no utilitarian value (often regarded as "sculpture" – a notion that brings back pre-Japonisme hierarchical distinctions).

The emphasis on purity – and especially the purity of the medium – in modernist discourse excluded the material and cultural hybridity that characterize the decorative arts and especially Japanese and japoniste ceramics, as shown throughout this study. Although the playfulness and self-referentiality of the latter contributed significantly to new modes of thinking about art and image making, their role has been strategically obviated in order to preserve the consistency of what Cheetham called the "rhetoric of purity."[403] However, the tactics and vocabulary of decoration had become integral to modernist aesthetic prior to the crystallization of a modernist discourse. We fully remember, in mainstream art history, that, in the early years of the twentieth century, the first abstractionists were rejecting decoration on the basis of it being instrumental rather than intrinsic. What has been forgotten or neglected is that those artists had already internalized the self-referential techniques of decoration through their involvement in, or exposure to, Japanese arts and late nineteenth-century japoniste ceramics. I argue that it was that phase of assimilating decoration, through the reception of Japanese ceramics and the production of japoniste ceramics, that enabled later artists to build on the "lessons" of ceramic Japonisme while rejecting decoration as category.

[403] M. Cheetham, *The Rhetoric of Purity (...)*. Also relevant, of course, are the writings of Clement Greenberg and Michael Fried in terms of their respective insistence on medium purity and a "clean" historical framework. There is a rich literature on this aspect of the history of art history. For a recent study, see Nissim Gal, "Traces of the Unrepresentable in the Modernist Discourse of Clement Greenberg and Michael Fried", *RIHA Journal* (2013).

A Shift in Perspective

I am not suggesting that Japanese and japoniste ceramics had a direct influence on Picasso's cubism to the extent to which African masks had; I am suggesting, however, that the japoniste ceramic "lesson" was undeniably integral to the modernists' artistic paradigm, and the lens that enabled them to see, in the epistemological sense, the self-referential, symbolic, and process-transparent aspects of various other visual traditions (e.g. Breton, African, Polynesian) from which they drew inspiration for their mold-breaking art. Similarly, there is no denying that Bracquemond's influence was generally restricted because he was not primarily a painter. However, his influence worked indirectly through his japoniste ceramics and prints that catalyzed similar artistic expressions and practices in the works of subsequent artists, from Deck to Picasso.

In light of these observations, it is worth stressing that my project does not attempt to revise the history of Bracquemond's prominence in his own time, but to shed light on the importance of his artistic experiments in that they allows us now, in the twenty-first century, to understand the history of art from a different perspective, one that is not governed by the canonical "-isms", within which Bracquemond occupies a peripheral role, but a global and multi-medium one. Due to its multicultural and interdisciplinary approaches, the current study can embrace a different framework—one that abandons Eurocentric notions of modernism in favor of a category-conscious and category-critical perspective that gives voice, as it were, to the plurality of influences and mediums that make up the very fabric of art's past. In that sense, I am embracing Keith Jenkins' useful

distinction between "past" and "history"[404] and aspire to versions of the latter that come much closer to closing the gap between the past and the discourse thereof. A fruitful solution in this regard is to seek to understand the hybrid and holistic nature of art's past, instead of working against these fundamental characteristics in order to generate "cleaner" and useful, yet incomplete and at times inaccurate, historical categories.

Art historians (for example, Christopher Wood and Alexander Nagel in Renaissance studies) have long insisted on the centrality of painting as a playful medium.[405] Painting is certainly not the only such medium, as shown especially in art-historical projects that have taken a step back from Western-centric categories and frameworks. As we have seen in this study, exploring ceramic Japonisme as a lens through which to see a global history of nineteenth-century art proves that, quite to the contrary, playfulness was a key principle of aesthetic expression in a variety of mediums, notably ceramics, and in traditions outside the Western canon, especially East Asian, and Japanese, art. In fact, what contributed to the playful experimentation that defined early modernist painting was precisely the realization, in the japoniste circles we investigated, that non-Western art in mediums other than painting was, and had been, playful – especially in reflecting back onto itself – for centuries prior to the age of industrialization and the advent of modernity.

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[404] Keith Jenkins, "What History Is" in *Rethinking History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991). Jenkins proposes that history is a form of discourse and hence should be considered as different from the past. Although developed with sociopolitical history in mind, his theory is equally useful when thinking about art's past and accounts thereof.

[405] Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010). Nagel and Wood make this statement in the context of re-evaluating the problematic notion of time in the Renaissance.

Showing that Japanese art had always been ""modern" would be not only anachronistic, but also Eurocentric. Instead, I seek a different perspective on the history of art, one that allows us to have a holistic understanding of cultural phenomena across time, in multiple cultures, and in multiple mediums. As a hybrid, multicultural, material-oriented, and stylistically diverse set of practices, Japonisme, especially in ceramics, optimally demonstrates the benefits of this change in perspective, from art's history to art's past, from privileged categories to an egalitarian purview across mediums, and from two-dimensional models of art-historical change to three-dimensional, more complex models. I will devote the remainder of the current and last chapter to review and highlight the mechanisms of feedback loops of cross-cultural influence, suggesting a spiral model for aesthetic and cultural change.

From Circular Japonisme to the Spiral Blueprint of Global Art History

As this study has shown, the medium of ceramics, by virtue of its portability and cultural hybridity, became the stage onto which Japanese cultural producers reformed their aesthetic priorities and practices by entering a quasi-self-colonizing dialogue with the ceramic Japonisme of the late nineteenth-century Euro-American, and notably French, art world. As shown in Chapter 3, this phenomenon typically became manifest in the adoption and adaptation of the Japanese aesthetic principles and visual motifs that French porcelain makers borrowed and featured in their works. As shown in Chapter 4, inspired by these "diagnosis" motifs, influential critics like Gonse and Anderson wrote "histories" of Japanese arts that, in Japanese translation, spurred a parallel "circular Japonisme" at

the level of discourse, especially through key terms, mostly neologisms denoting "fantasy" and imagination and "arbitrariness" and self-referentiality, which became integral to emergent conceptualizations of both bijutsushi 美術史 ("art history") and nihonjinron 日本人論 ("Japaneseness") in turn-of-the-century Japan. These forms of cultural circularity have a uroboric dimension in that they use the "external" japoniste lens to turn inwards and engage in a process of self-reflection that ultimately leads to formal and conceptual innovation. These cycles of translation and of tradition and innovation are instrumental in the revision of historical values (e.g. the changes in the cultural landscape of late nineteenth-century France, outlined in Chapter 4) and in the rejuvenation of contemporaneous artistic production (e.g. the new Fukagawa porcelain of 1900, discussed in Chapter 3). As material outcomes of these feedback loops of cross-cultural influence, Japanese japoniste ceramics embed and reflect a culturally hybrid genealogy of style. As such, they are exemplary of the complex and "untidy" nature of art's past. Studying them helps revisit and challenge established narratives that maintain artificially unambiguous categories within a center-periphery hierarchical system.

Japoniste ceramics are, par excellence, hybrid objects: multicultural, often multi-medium, and at times multinational. As such, these objects complicate notions of authenticity and inform our understanding of the relation between knowledge and power. Understood as the quality of being "genuine" or "original," authenticity played a significant role in the Japanese ceramics that dealers offered, the ways in which they described such objects (at times embellishing their accounts, as was the case with Hayashi Tadamasa, who used his authority for financial gain and to further strategically beneficial social relationships), and

the kinds of objects that collectors sought, as a result of a quest for the authentic fueled by the market. Whether perceived or real in some sense, authenticity played a major role in the assignment of value for Japanese ceramics in French collections as well as for japoniste ceramics produced in both the Euro-American world and Japan. Cernuschi, for example, was interested in emulations – from later periods and from other cultures – of "authentic" and sought-after antiques like Chinese bronzes. This decision increased the visibility and desirability of Japanese objects construed in dialogue with Chinese culture, adding value – sociocultural and financial – to multicultural and authorially ambiguous objects that resulted from cross-cultural interchange. The pressure that ceramic Japonisme put on the categorical boundaries and the very relevance of authenticity continued as a phenomenon after 1904, the near end of this study's timeframe, as exemplified by the briefly mentioned case of the 1970s Japanese collector Kanbara Hakaru, whose Samson "forgeries" are on display next to "genuine" Japanese porcelain in Kyushu's ceramic museum. Japonisme, especially in ceramics, fueled a revision in the status of emulatory works, copies, and even forgeries, calling attention to the definitional boundaries of these terms and revisiting the values that the public and the market attach to them. Practices that were once reserved for "foreign" and notably "East Asian" porcelain, like cutting and mounting such ceramic pieces with metal mounts, was internalized and globalized, as it were, when japoniste porcelain began to be cut and mounted, in 1900, as Chinese and Japanese porcelain once was (**Fig. 121**). Japoniste ceramics, as art objects, called "authenticity" into question, spurring a revision of the hierarchies of values assigned multicultural and otherwise hybrid arts.

Considering this multiple hybridity of japoniste ceramics, we have conceptualized them as embodiments of knowledge, channels for the transcultural dissemination of information, a form of pilgrim art, according to Finlay, and boundary objects, if not a super-category at the intersection of boundary objects (related to collaboration), epistemic objects (in the realm of translation), and activity objects (constitutive of innovation), building on the recent theorization of sociologists Nicolini, Mengis, and Swan. These roles of japoniste ceramic objects can only have meaning in a social context, as shown through network analysis in Chapter 2. Beyond the current case study of ceramics-driven Japonisme, the theoretical implications of this analysis are relevant for other studies of social networks, as it encourages a closer look at the role of material culture in the dynamics of social relationships, specifically in terms of the kinds and uses of objects that are integral to the formation and development of sociocultural ties. The theoretical contribution of the current study can also be relevant in the context of other object-based art historical studies, encouraging a closer look at the social networks in which objects are embedded, in order to better understand their circulation and cultural impact. Specifically, the current combined method of object-based and social-network analyses, with a focus on cultural exchange and hybridity, has the potential to illuminate the connections between materiality and formal vocabulary, on the one hand, and between cultural diffusion and sociocultural change, on the other.

All things considered, this study of circular Japonisme in the realm of ceramics proposes a different perspective on writing art history—one that strategically relinquishes historical hierarchies, especially painting-centric and Western-centric values, and

abandons the pursuit of logically convenient categories in favor of a more holistic and, I suggest, a more truthful understanding of the transcultural complexity of art's past. The circularity or uroboric nature that has been discussed throughout this study in relation to ceramic Japonisme does not entail a return to the same place (as, for example, Meiji-period Japanese porcelain of a japoniste style was not purely traditional or "Japanese," as it were, but the epitome of a new international style). Instead, this kind of feedback loop of cross-cultural exchange, of which Japonisme is exemplary, describes a spiral, as coming full circle entails not a return to an origin point, but a new level of understanding and creative expression that builds on, and resonates deeply with, the aesthetic and sociocultural set of values that triggered it in the first place. How did the spiral of ceramic Japonisme continue into the twentieth century? And how can this conceptual model inform our understanding of the many other multicultural phenomena in global art history? It is my hope that this study will contribute to a paradigm shift enabling a more inclusive and unbiased analysis of art's past—one that acknowledges the construed dimension of historical discourses and relies on pairing material and visual analysis of objects with a holistic understanding of their social contexts.

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Gabriel P. Weisberg, Edwin Becker, Evelyne Possémé, *The Origins of L'Art Nouveau: The Bing Empire* (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2004)

Gabriel Weisberg et al, *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975)

Gabriel Weisberg et al, eds., *The Orient Expressed: Japan's Influence on Western Art, 1854-1918* (Mississippi Museum of Art, 2011)

Richard Wilson, *The Potter's Brush: The Kenzan Style in Japanese Ceramics* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 2001)

Werner Wolf, ed., *Metareference across Media: Theory and Case Studies,* Studies in Intermediality series, no. 4 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009)

Chisaburō Yamada, ed., *Dialogue in Art, Japan and the West* (New York; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976)

Chisaburō Yamada, ed., *Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1980)

Inuhiko Yomota, *"Kawaii" ron* 「かわいい」論 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2006, 2012)

Claudio Zanier, *Semai: setaioli italiani in Giappone (1861-1880): interpretare e comunicare senza tradurre* (Padova: CLEUP, 2006)

APPENDICES

A. TABLES

Table 1. Chronological table of a sample set of sources on Japanese culture, art, and literature, published prior to 1858; the third columns explains the context of their reception in France.

Date and Place of Publication	**Author and Title**	**Context of Reception in France**
Undated (Japan)	[Exact title unknown; in French:] *Description des funérailles au Japon et des sacrifices aux divinités* ("Description of funerals and sacrificial offerings to divinities in Japan")	This collection of Japanese prints, originally in the library of the Dutch ambassador Titsingh, was translated and reprinted in a French edition in 1819. This project exemplifies the largely ethnographic interest, manifest in France and other European countries, in understanding the social and cultural fabric of Japan; this interest mainly manifested itself through collecting and the republication of Japanese prints that offered information about Japanese customs and socio-cultural hierarchies. The Dutch Isaac Titsingh, employee of the Dutch East India Company, served as the Company's ambassador to Japan and then to China; in Japan, Titsingh met with the shogun, corresponded with court officials, and learned spoken Japanese.[1] It was through his efforts and those of the interpreters of the Dutch East India Company that some texts about Japan were translated into Dutch.
Undated (Japan)	*Carte de* Miaco*, residence de l'empereur spirituel du Japon, ployée, gravée en bois, et imprimée sur fort papier du pays, provenant du même cabinet [de Titsingh]. De 20 pouces sur 2 pieds 2 pouces. On joindra à ces cartes le manuscrit de M. Titsingh, qui donne l'explication de Miaco.* ("Map of Myako [capital], residence of the spiritual emperor of Japan, folded,	This map of Kyoto, the imperial capital of Japan, was ostensibly not the only map in the collection of the Dutch ambassador Titsingh; together with this map were maps of Edo, Osaka, Nagasaki, and a general representation of Japan, all of which were sold in 1827 at public auction in Paris. The maps of Kyoto and Edo were accompanied by Titsingh's manuscripts, containing his descriptive account of the imperial court in Kyoto and of the shogunate headquarters in Edo.

[1] ("Remains of M. Titsingh: His Observations of Chinese Chronology, According to Japanese Authorities, and His Correspondence with De Guignes the Elder" in *The Asiatic Journal* (London: Parbury, Allen, and Co.), vol. 8, 1832, p. 17.

	engraved in wood, and printed on heavy paper from this country, drawn from the same cabinet [that of Titsingh]. 20 inches by 2 feet and 2 inches [approximate equivalent dimensions]. We are including, with these maps, the manuscript of Mr. Titsingh, offering an explanation of the Myako [the capital]."	
1670 (London)	*Atlas Japanensis*	This compendium of engravings of an ethnographic character, depicting Japanese people and landscapes, was translated and published in French as *Ambassades mémorables de la Compagnie orientale des Provinces-Unies vers les empereurs du Japon* in 1680. The English original, as translated by the eighteenth-century scholar Ogilhy, was in Philippe Burty's collection, who made his books and art available to a wide range of French artists and ceramists in the second half of the nineteenth-century.
1680 (Amsterdam)	*Ambassades mémorables de la Compagnie des Indes orientales des provinces unies vers les empereurs du Japon : contenant plusieurs choses remarquables arrivées pendant le voyage des ambassadeurs, et de plus la description des villes, bourgs, châteaux, forteresses, temples et autres bâtimens, des animaux, des plantes, montagnes, rivières, fontaines, des moeurs, coutumes, religions et habillements des japonais, comme aussi leurs exploits de guerre et les révolutions tant anciennes que modernes que ces peuples ont essuyées* ("Memorable missions of the United Provinces' East India Company to the Emperors of Japan: containing several remarkable occurrences that took place during the travels of the ambassadors, as well	Published by the Amsterdam-based editor J. de Meurs in French, this book compiles anecdotes, descriptions, and observations recorded by employees of the Dutch East India Company. One of the earliest such anthologies of first-hand observations, it is also one of the first ethnographic, historical, and socio-cultural accounts of Japan in the French language. Although inexact and with great lacunas, the section that details the political history of Japan and its ties to local customs and monuments is nonetheless noteworthy and likely a foundation on which knowledge was built subsequently.

	as a description of cities, towns, castles, fortresses, temples, and other buildings, and of animals, plants, mountains, rivers, fountains, of habits, customs, religions and vestments of the Japanese, as well as of their wars and revolutions, both ancient and modern")	
1727 (London)	Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*	A scientist, Kaempfer was one of the few Europeans who traveled to Japan in the late seventeenth century; *History of Japan*, published posthumously, became a rare and popular source of knowledge about Japan in Western Europe, including France. The book became a best seller in England and helped popularize the comparison between the geopolitical situations of England and Japan. Only 2 years later, in 1729, P. Gosse & J. Neaulme published a French version of Kaempfer's *History* in Paris, translated by François Naudé, under the title of *Histoire naturelle, civile et ecclésiastique de l'Empire du Japon*. Besides the French translation of the text, the Paris edition included Kaempfer's illustrations and the preface by the initial translator from German to English.
1736 (Paris)	Pierre de Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale du Japon* ("History and General Description of Japan")	Published less than a decade after the popular French version of Kaempfer's book, Charlevoix's *Histoire et description…* appeared in two illustrated volumes with the editor Gandouin. On the cover, Charlevoix advertised that his book included a summary and analysis of "all the authors" who had written on the subject of Japan (as of 1736 in Paris). Charlevoix's project attempted to render coherent all that was known about Japan, from disparate and indirect sources.
1820 (Paris)	Isaac Titsingh, *Mémoires et anecdotes sur la dynastie régnante des Djogouns, souverains du Japon, avec la description des fêtes et cérémonies observées aux différentes époques de l'année... et un appendice contenant des détails sur la poésie des Japonais, leur manière de diviser l'année, etc. ... Publié avec des notes*	Published with A. Nepveu in Paris, this book by the Dutch ambassador Titsingh was one of the very few sources available in France on the cultural fabric of Japan, including anecdotes and observations regarding the shogunal structure of administration, a number of traditional celebrations and ceremonies, and an overview of Japanese poetry. Although some of its information is inaccurate or incomplete, the book offers valuable insights, an example of which is Titsingh's attention to the connection

	et éclaircissements par M. Abel Rémusat ("Memories and anecdotes on the reigning dynasty of the shoguns, sovereigns of Japan, with a description of holidays and ceremonies observed at different times of the year… and an appendix detailing the poetry of the Japanese, their way of dividing the year, etc. With notes and clarifications by Mr. Abel Rémusat")	between the seasons and Japanese life, especially as reflected in poetry. Titsingh's collaborator, Abel Rémusat (1788-1832), was the first chair of Sinology at Collège de France.
1822 (London)	Isaac Titsingh, *Illustrations of Japan*	With close ties to France, Titsingh decided to publish his writings about Japan in both Dutch and French, with separate publishers in Amsterdam and Paris. This 1822 English edition of his *Illustrations of Japan* was in the collection of Philippe Burty.
1827 (Paris)	*Catalogue d'Objets d'Art et d'Industrie Chinoise… Provenant des Voyages de M. M. Titsingh, Ancien Ambassadeur Hollandais, Martuchi, d'autres envoyés de Chine par les RR. P.P. Missionnaires Français.* Paris, 25 avril, 1827. ("Catalog of Chinese Objects of Art and Industry… Coming from the Travels of Mr. Titsingh, Former Dutch Ambassador, from Martuchi, and from other emissaries of China with the French Missionaries. Paris, April 25, 1827")	This auction catalogue inventoried approximately 127 East Asian artifacts collected by Titsingh during his travels in China and Japan. Although the title of the sale indicated that the objects were all Chinese, some of them were, in fact, Japanese as well as Indian. It was through this sale that Titsingh's maps of Kyoto, Edo, Osaka, and Nagasaki were brought to Paris, where they entered other private collections.
1832 (Leiden)	Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Nippon Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japon* ("Japan Archive and Description of Japan")	Von Siebold lived in Japan from 1823 to 1829; a surgeon and scientist, Von Siebold was interested in collecting local plants and often received Japanese objects in exchange for medical services. He was expelled from Japan after having received maps of the country, which was forbidden to foreigners; he returned to Japan after the opening of the country, as a diplomat, in 1859.[2] Von

[2] "Siebold." Webpage of the Japan Museum SieboldHuis. Retrieved at: http://www.sieboldhuis.org/en/hetsieboldhuis/siebold.

		Siebold's *Nippon* is a rich ethnographic and geographic description of Japan. Philippe Burty owned a copy of the first version of *Nippon*.
1832 (Paris)	*Notice de Livres Précieux dont Quelques-uns Imprimés sur Peau Vélin ou sur Papier de Chine, d'autres Publies en Chine ou Japon. De Manuscrits . . . provenant des Bibliothèques de H. Bertin, Ministre, de H. Titsingh, Ambassadeur en Chine et au Japon, du Captaine Philibert, dont la vente aura lieu les 28, 29, 30, 31 mars* ("Record of Precious Books of which Some are Printed on Vellum or on Chinese Paper and Others are Published in China or Japan. Manuscripts… Drawn from the Libraries of the Honorable Bertin, Minister, of the Honorable Titsingh, Ambassador to China and Japan, of Captain Philibert, occasioned by the sale on March 28, 29, 30, and 31")	This catalogue of a public auction (held in March from the 28th to the 31st) inventoried a large number of Chinese and Japanese books and compendia, all of which belonged to three individuals whose respective knowledge of East Asia was among the most sophisticated in eighteenth-century France. One of them was Henri Bertin, statesman close to Louis XV, whose fascination with Chinese art and culture led him to collect Chinese objects, to read what was available in European languages, and to support the Jesuit mission to China. This auction further dispersed Bertin's and Titsingh's books into private collections in Paris.
1838 (Paris)	Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Voyage au Japon* ("Journey to Japan")	*Voyage au Japon* was the translation of Von Siebold's *Nippon Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japon,* originally published in German in Leiden; both the original and the translation were part of the collection of Philippe Burty.

Table 2. Key texts of, and about, Japanese literature in the second half of the nineteenth century in France.[3]

Date and Place of Publication	Author and Title	Description/ Relevance
1829, Tokyo	Moriya Asakusaan, Hokkei Totoya, illustrator, *Sansai tsuki hyakushu* 三才月百首 ("A hundred poems on three aspects of the moon")	Illustrated collection of kyōka poems in three parts (Sky, Earth, Man/ Human Affairs), having belonged to Edmond de Goncourt, who annotated his copy.
1871, Paris	*Anthologie japonaise: poésies anciennes et modernes des insulaires du Nippon* ("Japanese anthology: ancient and modern poetry of the islanders of Nippon [Japan]"), Léon de Rosny, trans., preface by Ed. Laboulaye	Original texts included. Rosny selected and translated poems from several Japanese anthologies of waka, including the *Manyōshū* 万葉集 "Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves" (8th century AD) and the *Ogura hyakunin-isshū* 小倉百人一首 "Ogura, one hundred people, one poem each", compiled by Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241) in the 13th century.
1875, Geneva	Ryūtei Tanehiko, *Komats et Sakitsi, ou La rencontre de deux nobles coeurs dans une pauvre existence: nouvelles scènes de ce monde périssable exposées sur six feuilles de paravent* ("Komatsu and Sakitsu, or the encounter of two noble hearts in a poor lifetime: new scenes of this fleeting world presented on six folding screens"), François Turrettini, trans.	This novel by Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦 (1783-1842) exemplifies the kinds of Edo-period popular illustrated fiction that was translated into French and made available to European readers in the second half of the nineteenth century.

[3] Although there are important studies of the impact of Japanese aesthetics on nineteenth-century French literature, only a few texts reflect on the earliest stages of translating and analyzing Japanese poetry in France. Two of these texts are: Jan Hokenson, "The First Literary Translations of Japanese Poetry" in *Japan, France, and East-West Aesthetics: French Literature, 1867-2000* (Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press, 2004), pp. 110-119; Janick Belleau, "L'enfance du tanka en France et au Québec," conference paper, delivered at Printemps des Poètes, 14th ed., Puteaux, France, March 17, 2012.

1884, Paris	*"Kami yo-no maki": Histoire des dynasties divines* ("Kami yo-no maki: history of divine dynasties"), translated and annotated by Léon de Rosny	This was the first French translation of the first two volumes of the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 "Chronicles of Japan" of 720 AD. Original text included.
1885, Paris	Judith Gautier, trans., Kinmochi Saionji, ed., *Poëmes De la Libellule* ("Poems of the Dragonfly")	The daughter of Théophile Gautier, Judith Gautier (1845-1917) collaborated with the Japanese nobleman and politician Kinmochi Saionji (1849-1940) to translate this important collection of 88 poems from the *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集 "Collection from Ancient and Modern Times" (10th century AD). The book included, in translation, the famous preface to the *Kokinwakashū* written by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀 貫之 (872-945). Painter Hosui Yamamoto 山本 芳翠 (1850-1906) illustrated the book, which became popular in japoniste circles.
1886, Paris	Émile Guimet, *Le théâtre au Japon: conférence faite au cercle Saint-Simon, le 16 avril 1884* ("Theater in Japan: conference paper presented to the Saint-Simon circle, April 16, 1884")	Guimet published, two years later, the conference he delivered in 1884 at the Parisian Saint-Simon association (est. 1883), introducing French intellectuals to Japanese theater, including the oeuvre of Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653-1725). Guimet's close collaborator, the artist Félix Regamey (1844-1907) illustrated the printed edition of Guimet's paper.
1888, Tokyo	Georges Appert, in collaboration with H. Kinoshita, *Ancien Japon* ("Ancient	The French historian Georges Appert (1850-

	Japan")	1934) collaborated with the librarian and scholar Kinoshita Hiroji 木下 広次 (1851-1910) on this ambitious project. The resulting book contains information on major Japanese literary texts, especially on *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語 "The Tale of Genji" and *Heike Monogatari* 平家物語 "The Tale of the Heike". Both texts are among the most frequently evoked and illustrated narratives in Japanese art across media.
1901, Paris	Léon de Rosny, *Feuilles de "momidzi": études sur l'histoire, la littérature, les sciences et les arts des Japonais* ("Maple leaves: studies on the history, literature, sciences and arts of the Japanese ")	This work draws valuable parallels between Japan's literary tradition and its echoes and underpinnings in Japanese political history and the arts.

Table 3. An overview of the types of Japanese visual culture, excluding ceramics, available in France in the nineteenth-century, with information regarding major collections in which such objects were present and notable examples for each type.[4]

Type of object	Major collections	Notable examples
Prints, compendia of prints, and illustrated books	Henri Bertin (1795), Isaac Titsingh (1827), Philipp Franz von Siebold (1843), W.L. de Sturler (1855), Département de Manuscrits (multiple purchases), Cabinet des Estampes (multiple purchases, especially after 1815), Napoleon III (1863), Siegfried Bing (multiple purchases), Théodore Duret (1870s), Musée des Arts Décoratifs (1888), Philippe Burty (multiple purchases), Charles Salomon (multiple purchases)	Hokusai, *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* 東海道五十三次/ "53 Stations of the Tōkaidō" (1804); Hokusai, *Manga* (1814); Utamaro, *Ehon mushi erabi* 絵本虫選び/ "Insect Book" (1819); Hokusai, *Ippitsu gafu* 一筆画譜/ "Drawings Made with a Single Stroke of the Pencil" (1823); *Kōrin hyaku-zu* 光琳百図(1826), anthology of 100 prints reproducing the works of Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716); Kunisada II, *Murasaki Shikibu Genji kai-awase* 紫 式部源氏貝合わせ/ "Matching of Shells Game with Scenes from Murasaki Shikibu's Tale of Genji" (1857); Shibata Zeshin et al., *Kuma naki kage* 隈那き影 / "Clear Shadows" (1867).
Drawings	Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs (1882); Louis Wertheimer (1887)	Kanō Yoshinobu (1747-1797), album of landscapes, color on silk (purchased by Musée des Arts Décoratifs from L. Wertheimer, 1887); study for/ copy of fusuma-e, identified as in the style of Ōkyo (Musée des Arts Décoratifs).
Folding-screen paintings (byōbu-	Louis Gonse (multiple purchases); Siegfried Bing (multiple purchases)	Pair of folding screens covered with fabric swatches, undated (Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais, Paris, 1883); Tosa school, pair of folding screens depicting a religious festival in Kyoto,

[4] French nineteenth-century collection and auction catalogues are concentrated at the Diet Library in Tokyo and at the BNF and the INHA library in Paris. A useful primary source is: Louis Gonse, *Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais* (Paris: A. Quentin, 1883). Secondary literature on the availability of Japanese visual material in nineteenth-century France includes the following: P. Floyd, "Documentary Evidence for the Availability of Japanese Imagery in Europe in Nineteenth-Century Public Collections," *The Art Bulletin*, 68:1, 1986; P. Floyd, "Japonisme in Context: Documentation, Criticism, Aesthetic Reactions," Ph.D. diss., U. of Michigan, 1983; Yamada C. ed., *Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium* (Tokyo, 1980); Yamada C., ed., *Dialogue in Art, Japan and the West* (New York; Tokyo, 1976); G. Weisberg, et al, *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910* (Cleveland, 1975); F. Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques* (The Hague, 1964).

e 屏風絵)		presumably offered to Oda Nobunaga, mid-sixteenth century (Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais, Paris, 1883); Kanō Sosen (signed), pair of folding screens of the 36 famous poets of Japan in landscape, late eighteenth century (Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais, Paris, 1883).
Hanging-scroll paintings (kakemono-e 掛物絵)	Philippe Burty (multiple purchases); Louis Gonse (multiple purchases); Siegfried Bing (multiple purchases); Emile Guimet (1876)	Kakemono depicting the death of Buddha, with seven vignettes from the life of Shakyamuni, undated (Guimet collection, opened to the public in Paris in 1885); kakemono depicting Kannon, undated (Guimet collection, opened to the public in Paris in 1885); 雪舟 Sesshū (signed), kakemono depicting a landscape, fifteenth century (Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais, Paris, 1883); Kanō Motonobu 狩野元信 (signed), kakemono depicting a bird perched on a blossoming branch, sixteenth century (Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais, Paris, 1883); Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (signed), kakemono depicting two roosters on a branch (Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais, Paris, 1883).
Sculpture in bronze	Henri Cernuschi (1871-1873); Emile Guimet (1876); Louis Gonse (multiple purchases)	Bronze statue of Buddha Amida, H. 4 m., from Banryūji temple, Meguro, Tokyo (sold to Cernuschi, shown in Paris); bronze tōrō 灯籠 temple lantern (Guimet collection, opened in Paris in 1885).
Sculpture in wood	Louis Gonse (multiple purchases); Emile Guimet (1876)	Black statue of the eight-armed deity Sanbōkōjin (Guimet collection, opened to the public in Paris in 1885); theater masks (Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais, Paris, 1883).
Lacquer ware (shikki 漆器)	Louis Gonse (multiple purchases); E. L. Montefiore (multiple purchases); Siegfried Bing (multiple purchases)	Lacquer box in the shape of two interlocking fans; box in the shape of a koto; combs and platters (Montefiore collection, Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais, Paris, 1883).
Netsuke 根付 and inrō 印籠	Philippe Burty (multiple purchases); Hayashi Tadamasa (multiple purchases); Charles Ephrussi (1870s)	Lacquer inrō decorated with the map of Japan; ivory netsuke of a grimacing face, eighteenth century (Burty collection, Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais, Paris, 1883).

Table 4. Private collections of Japanese ceramics in nineteenth-century France, ordered by the decade during which the collectors were (most) active, with summaries of contents and information on the occasions on which objects from these collections were shown publicly or to key japoniste agents.[5]

Collector	Summary of collection contents & other contextual information	Public or private displays and viewings
1850s		
Charles-Gustave Martin de Chassiron (1818-1871)	Baron de Chassiron traveled as early as 1858-1860 to China and Japan, as a diplomat with the first French mission to Japan. During his travels, he amassed a collection of East Asian art, including ceramics. He is one of the first French collectors to acquire Japanese printed books of various subjects as well as fans, which he had annotated during his travels. His collection entered the Orbigny-Bernon Museum in La Rochelle (closed to the public since 2012), known for its extensive holdings of local ceramics and porcelain. In terms of ceramics, the baron's collection was comprised of 45 objects, including Imari porcelain, celadon ware in the style of Kenzan, and stoneware, presumably from Kyoto workshops. The items are bowls and cups, incense boxes (kōgō), sake bottles, and teapots. Like Barboutau, Burty, and Dubouché, Baron de Chassiron also collected Hirado porcelain. (Baron de Chassiron, *Notes sur le Japon, la Chine et l'Inde: 1858-1859-1860*, Paris: E. Dentu, 1861; Thierry Lefrançois, *Le baron de Chassiron et l'Asie extrême-orientale au dix-neuvième siècle*, exhibition catalog, La Rochelle, 1999.)	- His apartment, rue de Douai, Paris, where he displayed parts of his collection - His 1861 book, *Notes sur le Japon, la Chine et l'Inde: 1858-1859-1860,* published in Paris, contained not only the baron's travel notes, but also illustrations depicting objects from his collection - It has been suggested that his collection became available to japoniste circles through his wife, Princess Caroline Murat, relative of Princess Mathilde Bonaparte, whose salons at Saint-Gratien the Goncourts and Bing attended (G. Lacambre, "Hokusai and the French Diplomats," *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, 1987, p. 83) - Musée des Beaux-Arts, La Rochelle (bequeathed 1869-1871), later Musée Orbigny-Bernon, La Rochelle (est.1917)

[5] To my knowledge, this table is the most comprehensive to date, contributing to information available in several sources: Jennifer Harris, "The Formation of the Japanese Art Collection at the Art Gallery of South Australia 1904-1940: Tangible Evidence of *Bunmei Kaika*", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Adelaide, 2012; Imai Yuko, "Changes in French Tastes for Japanese Ceramics," *Japan Review* 16, 2004; Akiko Mabuchi, "Introduction," *L'Art Japonais*, Louis Gonse (Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2003); Phylis Floyd, "'Japonisme' in Context: Documentation, Criticism, Aesthetic Reactions," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1983.

1860s		
Adolphe d'Ennery (1811-1899) and Clémence d'Ennery (1823-1898)	The d'Ennery collection was begun by Clémence, before her marriage to Adolphe, and continued by both of them as a couple after their marriage. Besides ceramics, the collection includes folding screens, sculpture in wood and bronze, masks, and furniture. The ceramic pieces include incense boxes and ceramic dolls. Some of the incense boxes are attributed to Ninsei, Kenzan, and Kiyomizu Rokubei (seal: "Sei"); other ceramics are Bizen, Seto, and raku; Hizen porcelain (Imari); and of various Kyoto workshops. Upon seeing the collection in 1859, Goncourt noted that the collection emphasized the playfulness and fantasy of the Japanese aesthetic (according the Guimet museum curator Hélène Bayou; see: http://www.guimet.fr/fr/musee-dennery/histoire-du-musee-dennery). This focus on fantasy is exemplified by pieces in the collection that emulate other materials and objects, such as a netsuke in the shape of tea ceremony vessels. (E. Deshayes, Petit guide illustré au Musée d'Ennery, Paris: Leroux, 1908; Chantal Valluy and Lucie Prost, "Adolphe Philippe d'Ennery, Collectionneur, 1811-1899," thesis, Ecole du Louvre, 1975.)	- At the residence of Clémence Desgranges (future Mme. d'Ennery, before her marriage to Adolphe), rue de l'Échiquier, Paris (1859-1881), visited by the Goncourts - Musée d'Ennery (opened 1908), now an annex of the Guimet Museum in Paris (Mme. d'Ennery had the support of fellow collector Clemenceau for the opening of the museum)
Adrien Dubouché (1818-1881)	Dubouché combined his collecting activity with supporting the cultural growth of Limoges (by donating his collection, as well as those of Jacquemart and Gasnault that he had bought, to Limoges's museum; and by creating an art school connected to the museum, further linking collecting to contemporaneous local production). His collection included mostly porcelain, particularly Kakiemon and Hirado. (Guillemot, "Adrien Dubouché," *Revue des arts décoratifs*, tome 2, pp. 209-221.)	- 1868 (450 ceramic objects offered by Dubouché in 1866) & 1881, Museum of Limoges
Edmond de Goncourt (1822-1896)	Goncourt's collection, started by both brothers Jules and Edmond and continued by Edmond after Jules' death, numbered	- After 1868: display of their collection in their home in Auteuil, outside

	199 ceramic items, including pairs and sets. The majority of objects is tea ceremony-related and comprises 60 tea bowls, 49 tea jars, and 13 bottles. Bing wrote the preface to the catalogue of the Goncourt collection sale and administered it in 1897. One of Goncourt's ceramic objects – a celadon tea bowl, no. 164 in the catalog, thought to be an ancient Korean object (presumably according to Goncourt and/ or Bing), currently attributed to Aoki Mokubei – entered Bing's collection, but within the same year Bing sold it to Charles Freer as Korean; it ultimately entered the collection of the Freer Gallery and was meanwhile re-attributed to Mokubei. At the sale in March 1897, the appraiser (commissaire-priseur) was Georges Duchesne and dealer and fellow collection S. Bing was brought in as expert and author of the catalogue text. It is possible that the artist F. Bracquemond, author of japoniste ceramic decoration, might have also contributed to inventorying the objects for the catalogue. Legal controversy surrounded the Goncourt sales (not only that of East Asian art, but also those involving his drawings and paintings, his writings, and his house at Auteuil), spurred by Goncourt's naming fellow writers Alphonse Daudet and Leon Hennique as his legatees, with the understanding that they would open the Goncourt Academy with the proceedings from all the sales (Robert Baldick, "Introduction," *Pages from the Goncourt Journal*, New York Review of Books, 2007; *Collection des Goncourt: Arts de l'Extrême-Orient, Objets d'Art Japonais et Chinois, peintures, estampes composant la Collection des Goncourt.* Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1897.)	Paris (where Haviland also had a studio that produced japoniste ceramics) - 1897, Hôtel Drouot, Paris (auction of the collection)
Albert Jacquemart (1808-1875)	Jacquemart collected Japanese ceramics alongside European, Chinese, and Persian ceramics. In particular, Jacquemart	- 1881, Museum of Limoges (the entire collection was acquired

	collected some important examples of eighteenth-century French imitations of Chinese and Japanese porcelain. His collection of Japanese ceramics was comprised exclusively of porcelain (151 items, pairs and sets included) and especially objects produced by the Hizen and Satsuma kilns. (Musée Adrien Dubouché, *Catalogue de la Collection Jacquemart, publié d'après le manuscrit original laissé par Albert Jacquemart*. Paris: Charles Unsinger, 1879.)	by Dubouché and donated to the Limoges museum)
1870s		
Siegfried Bing (1838-1905)	According to a 1906 auction catalogue, Bing's collection numbered 280 items, including pairs and sets. It should be remembered, though, that Bing, as a dealer, acquired many other objects that he subsequently sold. As tea ceremony implements, his collection had70 tea bowls, 33 tea jars, and 28 incense boxes. The ceramics in his collection included the following types and origins (in the order in which they were introduced in the 106 sale catalogue): Satsuma, Nabeshima, and Hirado; Seto; Oribe; Shino; Owari; Karatsu; Takatori; Tanpa; Shigaraki; Bizen; raku (34 items); and various Kyoto workshops. Bing also owned ceramics attributed to Nonomura Ninsei and his school; Mokubei; Ogata Kenzan and his followers; and Kiyomizu Rokubei (although the catalogue offers no information as to which one). The 1906 catalogue has a section of "undetermined pottery," acknowledging that the makers and dates remained unknown for that sub-group of ceramics. Bing's collecting choices were informed by what he learned in Japan in 1880 from Ninagawa Noritane and especially from Ninagawa's book, *Kanko zusetsu: tōki no bu* 観古図説: 陶器の部/ *Notice historique et descriptive sur les arts et industries japonais* ("Historical and Descriptive Notes on the Arts and Industries of Japan: Ceramics"),	- His own home, where he would often host salons - His shop at 19, rue Chauchat, Paris - 1878, Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient -1883, Retrospective exhibition of Japanese art, Georges Petit gallery, Paris (for this show, Bing lent ca. 600 ceramic objects to Gonse so that the display could complement the launch of Gonse's book *L'art japonais*) - May 1906, Durand-Ruel gallery, Paris (auction of the collection)

	10 vol., Tokyo, 1876-1878. Bing's understanding of Japanese ceramics was put to use in 1883, when he contributed a chapter on the topic for Gonse's book *L'art japonais*. Also, as a ceramics producer and commissioner of art, Bing was directly involved in the emulation of Japanese aesthetic vocabulary in French objects. (*Objets d'art et peintures du Japon et de la Chine. Collection S. Bing. Catalogue du vente*. Paris: Galeries Durand-Ruel, 1906.)	
Philippe Burty (1830-1890)	The catalogue of the posthumous sale of Burty's collection lists 159 ceramic items (including pairs and sets). Tea ceremony objects include 28 tea bowls, 14 incense burners, and 15 incense boxes. As listed in the catalogue, his ceramics included the following types and origins: Hizen (including Arita, Nabeshima and Hirado; from the 15th to the 19th century); Kutani (17th and 18th centuries); Kyoto and Mino (19th century); Seto (16th and 17th centuries); Oribe (18th century); Karatsu and Shigaraki (16th century); Takatori (18th century); Tanpa; Awaji; and Bizen (from the 17th to the 19th centuries; numbering 26 items). There are several pieces bearing the signature of Nonomura Ninsei. Interestingly, the catalogue lists several Ogata Kenzan pieces, all signed, and one is set apart as a Kyoto workshop piece, with the mention that it bears a false (forged) Kenzan signature. Bing wrote the foreword to Burty's sale catalogue, illustrated with some of Burty's drawings of objects in his collection. (*Collection Philippe Burty: Objets d'Art Japonais et Chinois qui seront vendus à Paris dans les Galeries Durand-Ruel*. Paris: Chamerot, 1891.)	- Through familial and professional ties (e.g. Charles Haviland was Burty's son-in-law, and the Bracquemonds were his friends and colleagues), Burty's collection was accessible to key French ceramists and designers - 1878, Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient -1883, Retrospective exhibition of Japanese art, Georges Petit gallery, Paris - 1891, Durand-Ruel gallery, Paris (sale)
Henri Cernuschi (1821-1896)	Cernuschi collected Japanese ceramics during his stay in Japan in 1871-1873 and subsequently enriched his collection with further acquisitions in Paris from Bing, Sichel, and the Italian dealer (in silkworm	- 1873, Palais de l'Industrie, Paris - After 1873, his new home, a mansion on avenue Velazquez

	eggs) Ferdinando Meazza. Out of 5,000 items in his collection, 2,000 represented ceramics. These included: Arita porcelain, Mikawachi and Nagahama ware, Bizen and Seto okimono 置物/ "objets d'art," 18th-century raku ware, Kenzan workshop pieces, and pieces by Kiyomizu Rokubei (IV or V) and Nonomura Ninsei. Cernuschi's collection also included a celadon bowl attributed to Aoki Mokubei, emulating an ancient Chinese bronze vessel, whose significance is discussed at length in the second section of this chapter. (François Raphaël Gonse, "Evolution de l'image de l'Orient japonais dans les histoires de l'art japonais 1880-1912," *Regards et discours européens sur le Japon et l'Inde aux XIXe siècle*. Limoges: PULIM, 2000.)	overlooking Parc Monceau in Paris, which he had built to accommodate his collections; letters and contemporaneous accounts attest to his receiving visitors at home and showing them his collection - 1874, selected ceramics from Cernuschi's collection inspired new ceramics produced by the Haviland studio (now in the Laurens d'Albis collection) - 1898, Cernuschi Museum, Paris
Antoine De la Narde (1839-?)	A. de la Narde owned an antique shop in Paris, specializing in Chinese and Japanese art; as a collector, he focused on Japanese ceramics, but acquired other items as well (including Courbet's *L'Origine du Monde*). His collection included Kyoto ware, Ninsei-attributed objects, raku ware, and Hizen porcelain (Arita, Imari, Satsuma). Other collectors, including Clemenceau, acquired Japanese ceramics from his shop. (Paul Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 1878.)	- His shop, A. De La Narde & Cie., in operation 1870s-1890s, at 10 and 14, rue Saint-Georges, Paris - 1878, Exposition Universelle, "La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient" - Sèvres Museum (donation by A. de la Narde, before 1921)
Octave Du Sartel (1823-?)	Octave Du Sartel was a collector and dealer of Japanese and Chinese porcelain and author of a connoisseurial book on Chinese porcelain, *La porcelaine de la Chine* (Paris: A. Morel, 1881). According to fellow collector Paul Gasnault, writing for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Du Sartel had one of two largest display cases at the 1878 World's Fair, featuring his collection of East Asian ceramics. According to Gasnault, Du Sartel started collecting in the 1870s and the 1878	- 1878, Exposition Universelle, "La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient" - 1882, Du Sartel collection auction, Paris

	World's Fair occasioned the first public display of his collection. Some of the Chinese pieces in his collection are described and/ or reproduced in French publications of the 1870s and 1880s, but little is known about the Japanese pieces in his collection (Paul Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 1878.)	
Mme. Duvauchel	Duvauchel had a display case featuring her collection of East Asian ceramics at the 1878 World's Fair. In his description of exhibitions at the 1878 World's Fair, Gonse described the following featured Japanese ceramics in Mme. Duvauchel's display: a footed platter decorated with images of vases, a platter in the shape of a leaf decorated with the image of a dragon, and a compartmented candy container in the shape of a lotus flower. (Paul Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 1878; Gonse, *L'art ancien à l'Exposition de 1878*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1879.)	- 1878, Exposition Universelle, "La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient"
Benjamin Fillon (1819-1881)	Fillon was a judge, numismatist, and researcher who contributed to the study of the history of his native Vendée region in France. As a collector, Fillon exhibited objects from his collection at the 1878 World's Fair. What set the Fillon collection apart from other French collections of East Asian art was the fact that Fillon collected Chinese and Japanese pieces alongside many other kinds of ceramics, including early French pottery and European Renaissance ceramics. (Paul Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 1878.)	- 1878, Exposition Universelle, "La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient"
Paul Gasnault (1828-1898)	Gasnault's collection of Japanese ceramics, numbering 71 items (pairs and sets included), was part of a much larger collection of approximately 2,000 European, Chinese, Japanese, and Persian	- 1881, Museum of Limoges (the entire collection was acquired by Dubouché and donated to the Limoges

	ceramics. Gasnault collected porcelain primarily, including Hizen, Satsuma, and Kutani ware. (Musée Adrien Dubouché Limoges, *Catalogue de la Collection Gasnault*. Paris: H. Champion, 1881.)	museum)
Louis Gonse (1846-1921)	Gonse's collection was comprised of 327 items (pairs and sets included), among which numerous pieces of Bizen ware. His collection featured 77 tea bowls, 85 tea jars, and 29 water jars. Hayashi Tadamasa served as an advisor for Gonse and other collectors in examining their Japanese ceramics and identifying kilns, workshops, and attributions to individual potters. (*Oeuvres d'art du Japon. Collection Louis Gonse. Catalogue du vente*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1924.)	-1883, Retrospective exhibition of Japanese art, Georges Petit gallery, Paris - Private sales during his lifetime
Ernest Grandidier (1833-1912)	A wealthy collector, Grandidier traveled to the Americas in the 1850s and to India and East Asia in the 1870s. Like fellow collector Du Sartel, Grandidier published a connoisseurial book on Chinese ceramics, *La céramique chinoise: porcelaine orientale, date de sa découverte, explication des sujets de décor, les usages divers, classification* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894). In the same year, he donated a significant part of his collection to the Louvre; in 1945, his collection became part of the Guimet museum. It is worth noting that Grandidier's collecting of Japanese ceramics complemented, and was integral to, Grandidier's efforts of understanding Chinese ceramics, notably Chinese porcelain. A year after his gift of Chinese ceramics to the Louvre, in 1895, Grandidier also donated 800 Japanese ceramics. These objects were dated to the 16th through the 19th century and were intended to exemplify a history of early modern Japanese ceramics. (« Au musée du Louvre – un nouvel don Grandidier», *Les Nouvelles de l'Intermédiaire*, no. 1, July 10, 1895.)	- 1895-1939, Louvre, Paris (according to contemporaneous accounts, the Japanese ceramics from the Grandidier collection were displayed in three rooms open to the public during regular museum hours)
Emile	Son of a wealthy industrialist and an	- 1878, Exposition

Guimet (1836-1918)	artist, Guimet combined several lifelong practices: business, social engagement, and art collecting, especially in East Asian art and with an interest in the connection between art and religion in China and Japan. He traveled to Japan in 1876 with the artist Regamey and brought back a diverse collection that included ceramics. He opened his museum in 1889 and was dedicated to its development for the rest of his life. His Japanese ceramics comprised of a wide range of objects, including tea ceremony implements and porcelain, from Kofun-period Haniwa terracotta figures to Nabeshima porcelain and from raku ware to Kenzan-attributed pieces. (Keiko Omoto, François Macouin, *Quand le Japon s'ouvrit au monde: Émile Guimet et les arts d'Asie*, Paris: Gallimard, 2001.)	Universelle, "La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient" - Guimet Museum (beginning in 1889)
Charles Haviland (1839-1921)	As collector of Japanese ceramics and producer of japoniste ceramics, Charles Haviland was central to connecting knowledge of Japanese ceramics with contemporaneous practice in the ceramic field. His collection numbered over 600 items, pairs and sets included (314 items for sale in 1923 and 304 items for sale in 1924, according to the two auction catalogues from those respective years). Few objects in his collection were of porcelain; the majority was comprised of tea objects and raku ware. For the 1883 exhibition at Georges Petit's gallery, Haviland presented the following, from his collection: Bizen, Karatsu, and Seto ware; Imari and Satsuma porcelain; Ninsei-signed and Ninsei-attributed ware, especially incense boxes; and contemporaneous Kyoto ware (Louis Gonse, *Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1883; *Céramique de l'Extrême-Orient. Collection Charles Haviland. Catalogue du douzième vente*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1923; *Estampes et Céramique du*	- The Haviland residence in Limoges (Charles was connected with numerous other collectors, including Cernuschi and his father-in-law Burty and with artists such as Bracquemond and Cassatt) -1883, Retrospective exhibition of Japanese art, Georges Petit gallery, Paris

	Japon. Collection Charles Haviland. Catalogue du quatrième vente. Paris: Drouot, 1924.)	
Alphonse Hirsch (1843-1884)	Hirsch was both collector and artist and, as a painter, he befriended Manet and Degas, among others. Alongside ceramics, Hirsch also collected Japanese bronzes and weaponry. At the Georges Petit gallery in 1883, for the "retrospective exhibition" organized by Gonse, Hirsch presented 17 items, including 18th- and 19th-century pieces from Kyoto ceramic workshops, Bizen ware dated to the 16th century, an 18th-century raku bowl, 19th-century Satsuma porcelain, and a box bearing the signature of Mokubei. (Gonse, *Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1883.)	-1883, Retrospective exhibition of Japanese art, Georges Petit gallery, Paris
Georges Petit (1856-1920)	Petit inherited the art business from his father François Petit and started by dealing in Impressionist painting in the late 1870s. He kept a popular gallery in Paris, where fellow collector Louis Gonse organized the "retrospective exhibition" of Japanese art, with pieces drawn from multiple private collections in Paris. At this show, Petit contributed with 38 items (pairs and sets included), among which were tea ceremony implements, incense boxes, and small ceramic sculptures. He collected objects attributed to Ninsei and Mokubei as well as Bizen, Seto, and Kutani ware and Imari and Satsuma porcelain (Gonse, *Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1883.)	- His gallery, Georges Petit gallery, 8, rue de Sèze, Paris -1883, Retrospective exhibition of Japanese art, Georges Petit gallery, Paris
L. Poiret	The collector L. Poiret exhibited objects from his collection of Chinese and Japanese ceramics, for the first time, at the 1878 World's Fair, where he had one of two largest display cases (together with that of O. du Sartel). His contemporaries (including fellow collectors Gasnault and Gonse) knew the Poiret collection especially for its "famille verte" (green overglaze enamel) Chinese porcelain	- 1878, Exposition Universelle, "La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient"

	(Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1878.)	
Auguste Rodin (1840-1917)	Although best known as a sculptor, Auguste Rodin was also a ceramic designer and decorator, involved in several collaborative japoniste projects, and a collector whose interests ranged from Egyptian antiquities to contemporaneous sculpture. In the realm of Japanese arts, Rodin collected woodblock prints, paper stencils for textile dyeing (katagami 型紙), picture books, masks, netsuke, and ceramics (in particular contemporaneous/ 19th-century objects such as a Kyoto tea bowl and a stoneware statuette of Daruma). Although ceramics represented only a portion of a larger and more diverse collection, it is significant that Rodin was looking at Japanese ceramics – his own and those of other collectors like Bing and Koechlin who were his friends – while working on japoniste ceramics, especially at the initiative of Albert Carrier-Belleuse (1824-1887), ceramist and Sèvres artistic director (*Rodin: le rêve japonais*, exhibition catalogue, Paris: Rodin Museum, 2007.)	- Rodin's studio - Rodin was invited to, and presumably participated in, the dinners and study meetings of the *Société des amis de l'art japonais* (1892-1942), where collectors of Japanese arts (including Goncourt, Bing, and Koechlin) discussed and studied Japanese objects, including ceramics
Auguste Sichel and Philippe Sichel (1840-1899)	Auguste Sichel and his son Philippe traveled to Japan, bought most of their collection there, and returned to France in 1874. Sichel ran a shop on the right bank of Paris where they sold Japanese objects, including ceramics and especially porcelain. Philippe Sichel, alongside many other collectors, presented part of his collection of East Asian ceramics at the 1878 World's Fair. In 1883, he published *Notes d'un bibeloteur au Japon* (Paris: E Dentu, 1883), dedicated to Cernuschi and with a preface by Edmond de Goncourt. His collection included Imari and Satsuma porcelain and some Bizen ware (Paul Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême	- 1878, Exposition Universelle, "La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient"

	Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 1878; Ph. Sichel, *Notes d'un bibeloteur au Japon*, Paris: E Dentu, 1883.)	
Edmond Taigny (1828-1906)	The nephew of the artist Jean-Baptiste Isabey, Edmond Taigny was a collector of decorative arts and East Asian art as well as an art historian. Taigny's collection of Japanese ceramics numbered 84 items (pairs and sets included). He collected numerous Japanese ceramic dolls, notably Fushimi ningyou and dolls by the Meiji female potter Kouren. At Gonse's "retrospective exhibition" of Japanese arts at Georges Petit's gallery, Taigny showed 34 ceramic figurines (most of them Bizen) and 35 other pieces, including tea bowls, ceramic boxes, and tableware. Most pieces were Kutani ware, Kyoto-produced ceramics, and Imari porcelain (Gonse, *Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1883; *Objets d'art anciens de la Chine et du Japon provenant en majeure partie de la Collection Edmond Taigny*. Catalogue du vente. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1903.)	-1883, Retrospective exhibition of Japanese art, Georges Petit gallery, Paris - April 1903, Hotel Drouot, Paris
Emile Vial (1833-1917)	The Japanese ceramics collection that Vial donated to Sèvres in 1880 was comprised of 42 items and included several objects of Chinese and Korean origin. He collected both porcelain and stoneware, including everyday objects like cups and saucers and tea ceremony objects like tea jars. What is little known in art-historical scholarship is that the collector E. Vial is the pharmacist, inventor, and philosopher Emile Vial, born in 1833 and passed away in 1917. Gonse refers to Vial as a pharmacist in his book *L'art japonais*; also, it has been recently discovered (in the field of the history of pharmacy) that Emile Vial, an avid art lover and collector, had a correspondence with the Paris-based Dutch painter Johan-Barthold Jongkind (1819 - 1891) from April 1876 to February 1887. (Vial collection catalogue, Sèvres Museum archives; Paul Gasnault,	- 1878, Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient - 1880, Museum of Sèvres

	"Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 1878; G. Devaux, "Fragments of a Correspondence Between the Parisian Pharmacist Emile Vial and the Dutch Painter Johan-Barthold Jongkind." *Rev Hist Pharm* (Paris) 64 (389), 2016, pp. 93-105.)	
1880s		
Pierre Barboutau (1862-1916)	According to a 1904 auction catalogue, Barboutau collected 122 ceramic items, including pairs and sets. Among them was a large number of Bizen ceramics and predominantly tea bowls, dolls, and tea jars. Included in the "Objets d'art" category, the ceramics in his collection are from a wide range of kilns and potters, including Hirado and Satsuma, Bizen, Karatsu, Seto and Ko-Seto, Kutani, Oribe, and Shigaraki, and, among potters, Kenzan, Mokubei, and Ninsei. The art critic Arsène Alexandre, who, together with Félix Fénéon, coined the term "neo-impressionism," wrote the foreword to Barboutau's collection catalogue in 1904. Arsène mentioned that Barboutau's trips to East Asia fueled his desire to collect Japanese art and made him intensely aware of the deficiency of knowledge about Japanese art in France. Arsène saw the diversity of objects in Barboutau's collection as evidence of the collector's desire to fill that informational gap. With the same goal, Barboutau published – in 1905, a year after the sale of his collection – a book that partially reproduced the sale catalogue and provided additional information – in the form of biographical entries - about the Japanese artists, workshops, and schools represented in his collection (Arsène, "La Collection P. Barbouteau," VIII; *Peintures - Estampes et Objets d'art du Japon. Collection Pierre Barboutau. Catalogue du vente*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1904; Barboutau, with drawings of objects by George	- 1894, catalogue of the Barboutau collection, including his ceramics, compiled by Ernest Leroux and printed and distributed by the Imprimerie orientale de A. Burdin (Angers) - June 1904, Hôtel Drouot, Paris (auction of the collection)

	Auriol and engravings by Vignerot, *Biographies d'artistes japonais dont les oeuvres figurent dans la collection Pierre Barboutau. Estampes et objets d'art*, Amsterdam: R.W.P. De Vries, 1905.)	
Raphaël Collin (1850-1916)	Collin's collection numbered 238 objects, including pairs and sets. Most objects in Collin's collection are tea ceremony implements, including tea bowls, tea jars, water jars, and incense boxes. Most of his acquisitions were through Hayashi Tadamasa, who sometimes offered ceramics to Collin in exchange for the latter's oil paintings. (Sadao Fujihara, "Henri Focillon et le Japon," *Histoire de l'art*, no. 47, 2000, pp. 43-52.)	- Collin's studio, frequented by artist friends and students (including Japanese artists like Kuroda Seiki and Fuji Masazo) - Lyon Museum of Art (acquired in 1917)
Hayashi Tadamasa (1853-1906)	Hayashi Tadamasa was both dealer and collector. As a collector, he was interested in both Japanese ceramics and contemporaneous French art, especially academic and Impressionist painting. To Guimet's museum he donated several pieces from his collection, including a Japanese 18th-century ceramic incense box, attributed to Numanami Gonzaemon ("banko"), imitating Dutch Delft porcelain with underglaze blue and vignettes of European countryside. Hayashi's collection included: Satsuma porcelain; Kyoto ware (Kiyomizu Rokubei); Mishima ware (emulating Korean ceramics); Kutani ware; Arita and Hirado porcelain; Seto, Oribe, Karatsu, Shigaraki, Bizen, Ohi, and raku ware; and pieces attributed to Ninsei, Kenzan, and Mokubei, among others (Hayashi Tadamasa, *Collection Hayashi*, Paris, 1902-1903, vol. 2; *Le jubilé du Musée Guimet: vingt-cinquième anniversaire de sa fondation 1879-1904*, Paris: Leroux, 1904.)	- 1879-1890, his shop, *Objets d'art anciens du Japon* (run with Wakai Kanesaburō), on rue d'Hauteville, Paris - 1890-1902, his apartment & shop, where he would receive French artists and other collectors, at 65, rue de la Victoire, Paris - 1902, sale of his collection - 1903, sale of his collection - Guimet Museum, before 1904 (donations)
Charles Firmin Gillot (1853-1903)	Gillot's father patented the printing technique "gillotage," used by Bing's *Le Japon Artistique*. Charles Gillot collected 392 ceramic items (pairs and sets included), among which were many raku	- Gillot's home, visited by Bing and other fellow collectors - February 1904, Durand-Ruel gallery,

	ceramics and predominantly tea bowls, water jars, and bottles. Gillot's collection included other Japanese objects as well as non-Japanese ceramics. The posthumous sale of his collection was curated by Bing and its contents praised by Koechlin, Migeon, and the Goncourts. (Durand-Ruel auction catalogue for the Gillot collection, 1904)	Paris - Louvre Museum (donation by his widow, Mme. Gillot, before 1908)
Edmond Guérin (1844-1932) and Marcel Guérin (1873-1948)	The collector and art historian Marcel Guérin is equally known as the son of Edmond Guérin - wealthy collector, director of several faience and glassware factories in France (Lunéville, Saint-Clément, Portieux), and leader of the ceramists' union in France – and as the father of Daniel Guérin (1904-1988) – a liberal politician as well as art historian. Edmond and Marcel collected few objects and acquired most from auction. Their collection of Japanese ceramics numbered 52 items (pairs and sets included) and most of them were implements for tea ceremonies: 19 tea bowls, 12 tea jars, and 9 incense boxes. The collection comprised Seto, Shino, Oribe, Shigaraki, Karatsu, and raku ware; Kyoto ware of various workshops; and an incense box attributed to Koetsu. Marcel also collected nineteenth-century French prints and published catalogues of prints by Manet, Degas, and Gauguin. (*Objets d'Art du Japon et de la Chine provenant des Collections Raymond Koechlin, Edmond et Marcel Guérin et Ch. Salomon*. Paris: Drouot, 1926.)	- Marcel Guérin's residence (Marcel's circle of friends and acquaintances included Marcel Proust and Claude Roger-Marx and ceramists and other artisans who were connected with his father Edmond)
Raymond Koechlin (1860-1931)	Journalist, curator at the Louvre Museum, leader of the Friends of the Louvre, Raymond Koechlin collected widely, from East Asian ceramics to Islamic art, medieval art, and Impressionist and post-Impressionist art. At the end of his life, he wrote a book about fellow French collectors of Japanese art, all of whom he knew and many of whom were his friends (*Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de*	- Koechlin's apartment at 24, boulevard Saint-Germain (visited by numerous friends who were artists and collectors, including Bing, Gonse, Migeon, and Gillot)

	l'Extrême-Orient, Chalon-sur-Saone: Imprimerie française et orientale E. Bertrand, 1930). He donated his collection to various museums. In the realm of Japanese ceramics, Koechlin privileged collecting tea ceremony implements and authored ceramics, especially by Ninsei and Kenzan. He bought numerous pieces at auction from other collectors or dealers, especially Bing and Hayashi. One of the objects in his collection, attributed to Kenzan, had belonged to Bing and previously to Ninagawa. His collection also included Seto, Karatsu, and Mishima ware and Satsuma porcelain (Paul Vitry, ed., "Les legs de Raymond Koechlin aux musées de France," *Bulletin des musées de France*, no. 5, May 1932.)	
Florine Langweil (1861-1958)	Langweil administered a successful shop of antiques and "objects d'art" in Paris; she commercialized Chinese and Japanese art through her shop and formed a collection of Chinese and Japanese art herself. Langweil donated objects from her collection to the Guimet Museum; the rest of the collection was sold after her death and got dispersed in multiple public and private collections around the world. To the Guimet museum she donated: a Minato tea pot in the shape of a frustoconical bottle; a Hizen porcelain tile with edges in the shape of branches; and other unidentified vases, cups, and tea pots, in both porcelain and stoneware. (F. Goerig, "Florine Langweil (1861-1958) enrichit les collections colmariennes" in *Annuaire*, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Colmar, 2005.)	- Her shop, place Saint-Georges/ Boulevard des Italiens, Paris - Sometime between 1889 and 1904, Guimet museum
Eugène Mutiaux (1846-1925)	Formerly a judge, Mutiaux collected widely (East Asian ceramics, Islamic art, early modern prints, and ancient and medieval art.) He was the godfather of writer Marcel Proust. Mutiaux donated part of his collection of East Asian art to the Louvre in 1925. According to Koechlin and others, Mutiaux was	- His apartment at 66, rue de Pompe (according to Koechlin: a small apartment, filled with objects, visited by fellow collectors, including Koechlin)

	particularly interested in collecting Japanese and Korean stoneware, at a time when Japanese and Korean ceramics were often confused and misattributed in France (Raymond Koechlin, *Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient*, Chalon-sur-Saone: Imprimerie française et orientale E. Bertrand, 1930.)	
Henri Rivière (1864-1951)	Painter, printmaker, photographer, stage designer, and writer, Henri Rivière had a multifaceted career that involved collecting Japanese ceramics, among other forms of Japanese art. Besides ceramics, Rivière was particularly interested in Japanese woodblock prints, which he emulated in his print series *Thirty-six Views of the Eiffel Tower* (1889), modeled on Hokusai's *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (1826-1833). Like with Collin, the dealer and collector Hayashi developed a special relationship with Rivière, to whom he was offering privileged access to his direct imports from Japan in exchange for Rivière's art, including decorative panels that Rivière painted for Hayashi's home in Tokyo. Some of the Japanese ceramics in his collection were bequeathed to the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris; most are Edo-period tea bowls and late nineteenth-century stoneware. In 1923, Rivière collaborated with writer and collector Charles Vignier to compile a compendium of illustrations and descriptions of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean ceramics, drawn from private and public French collections (Henri Rivière and Charles Vignier, *La céramique dans l'art d'Extrême-Orient: recueil de cent soixante-deux pièces reproduites en couleurs d'après les originaux choisis dans les musées et dans les collections françaises et étrangères*, Paris: Albert Lévy, 1923; Monique Moulène, "Henri Rivière, collectionneur et éditeur d'art," *Henri Rivière, Entre impressionnisme et Japonisme*, Valérie Sueur-Hermel, ed.,	- Rivière's studio, rue de Steinkerque, Paris, which he shared with Paul Signac and where he received visitors and kept parts of his collection

	Paris: BNF, 2009.)	
Charles Salomon (1862-1936)	Charles Salomon collected East Asian art; he was equally interested in Russian art and literature, having lived in Russia and translated, into French, *Les temps sont proches* (1897) and other works by his friend Leo Tolstoy, with whom Salomon had a long correspondence. Trained in law, Salomon became the vice-president of the Russian chamber of commerce in Paris. As Koechlin noted in his 1930 memoir, Salomon was a friend of Bing and had traveled to Japan; presumably he acquired Japanese objects both through Bing and directly from Japan. Besides ceramics, Salomon had an extensive collection of ukiyo-e woodblock prints and of Japanese books, especially picture books, compendia of monochrome reproductions, and illustrated lists of festivals, local traditions, and famous places. In the 1890s, Salomon donated objects from his collection to the Louvre. Although ceramics represented only a segment of his diverse collection of Japanese art, it is significant that Salomon viewed the ceramics through the filter of a good understanding of Japanese cultural references, enabled by the numerous relevant books and prints in his collection. (*Objets d'Art du Japon et de la Chine provenant des Collections Raymond Koechlin, Edmond et Marcel Guérin et Ch. Salomon*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1926; Raymond Koechlin, *Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient*, Chalon-sur-Saone: Imprimerie française et orientale E. Bertrand, 1930.)	- His home in Paris, where he received fellow collectors such as Bing and Koechlin
Wakai Kanesaburō (1834-1908)	Dealer, collector, and government official, Wakai Kanesaburō worked with Hayashi Tadamasa (his employee) for Japan's export company Kiritsu kōshō gaisha 起立工商会社 (1873-1891) and later joined Hayashi in advising Gonse with his book *L'art japonais* of 1883. Until 1890, Wakai worked with Hayashi for their shop,	- 1878, Exposition Universelle, "La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient" -1883, Retrospective exhibition of Japanese art, Georges Petit gallery, Paris

	Objets d'art anciens du Japon ("Ancient art objects of Japan.") Wakai was vice-president of the Japanese section at the 1878 World's Fair, where he exhibited Korean pottery. The collector Gasnault commented that Wakai's selection was all stoneware, which raised more questions than answers for French collectors, especially that they knew that Japanese Hizen porcelain had been developed through the Korean lineage of Sanpei 三平 (Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," 1878; Gonse, *Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, 1883.)	- 1879-1890, Hayashi's shop *Objets d'art anciens du Japon,* on rue d'Hauteville, Paris
1890s		
Georges Clémenceau (1841-1929)	The French politician Georges Clémenceau collected, almost exclusively, ceramic incense boxes (kōgō 香合), amassing around 200 by 1889, when Clémenceau and the American collector Morse met, and over 3,000 throughout his active collecting years. Clémenceau collected mostly through an intermediary, Francis Steenackers (1858-1917), French diplomat who served in Japan in the 1890s and 1900s. The incense boxes were of diverse origins and styles, including Kenzan-attributed pieces and Oribe ware. (*Boîtes à encens japonaises redécouvertes/ Japanese incense boxes rediscovered: la collection de kōgō de Georges Clemenceau*, catalogue, Musée des beaux arts de Montréal, 1977; *Kōgō no bi* 香合の美, exhibition catalogue, Sakata City Museum of Art et al., 2000.)	- Private viewings (Clemenceau's friends included Zola and Monet) - Montreal Museum of Art, Canada (Clemenceau's collection of Japanese ceramic incense boxes was acquired by the Canadian Joseph Arthur Simard and subsequently donated to the Montreal museum)
Mme. Hatty	Mme. Hatty was a dealer as well as a collector of Japanese objects, including ceramics. Some items in her collection were acquired from sales of Philippe Burty's collection, as it is recorded in the 1895 sale catalogue of her collection. Her Japanese ceramics (numbering 28 items, including pairs and sets) was comprised of Bizen, Kutani, Takatori, Satsuma, and raku ware, and one polychrome vase	- Her shop at 43, rue Laffitte in Paris (in operation 1889-1895) - April 9-10, 1895, Paris (sale of her collection)

	bearing the Kenzan signature. (*Catalogue des objets de la Chine et du Japon, écritoires et boîtes en laque, inrôs, netzukés, sculptures, objets variés... appartenant à madame Hatty*. Charles Mannheim, expert. Paris, 1895.)	
Paul Jeanneney (1861-1920)	Paul Jeanneney was a ceramist and a collector of Japanese ceramics as well as contemporaneous French ceramics. He moved to Paris from his native Strasbourg in 1889, after which he showed his Japanese ceramics to fellow ceramists, notably Jean Carriès, and started collecting japoniste ceramic pieces by Chaplet, Dalpayrat, and others of his contemporaries, all while continuing his own japoniste ceramic practice. His collection included Japanese celadon bowls that Carriès mentioned as major influences in his own ceramics. Jeanneney's collection included Takatori ware, Bizen ware, raku ware, as well as Chinese ceramics and some Japanese bronzes. (Alexandre Arsène, *Jean Carriès, imagier et potier: étude d'une oeuvre et d'une vie*, Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1895; Patricia Monjaret and Marc Ducret, *Passion du grès: L'Ecole de Carriès, 1888-1914*, Auxerre, France and Gingins, Switzerland: Saint-Germain Museum and Neumann Foundation, 2000.)	- 1889-1902, his apartment on boulevard Arago, Paris (where other japoniste ceramists like Carriès saw Jeanneney's collection of Japanese stoneware and porcelain) - 1921, auction sale of his collection, including Japanese ceramics, Drouot, Paris
Gaston Migeon (1861-1930)	Art historian and collector, curator at the Louvre, Migeon situated Japanese ceramics in multiple historical contexts (East Asian art history, a global history of ceramics, etc.). As assistant curator at the Louvre, Migeon contributed to the formation of the earliest collection of Japanese ceramics of the Louvre, mostly from donations made by private collectors. He traveled to Japan only in 1906. (« Au musée du Louvre – un nouvel don Grandidier», *Les Nouvelles de l'Intermédiaire*, 1, 1895.)	- His apartment in Paris (frequented by artists and collectors, especially one of his closest friends, Koechlin) - 1909 and 1911, Louvre (donations of East Asian art from Migeon's own collection)
1900s		

Georges de Tressan (1877-1914)	Art historian and collector Georges de Tressan was born into an aristocratic family, as a marquis, and pursued a military career. In parallel, he both collected and wrote about Japanese art. He became interested in the subject at the 1900 World's Fair. The sale catalogue of his collection lists 36 items of Japanese ceramics among many other categories of objects, including Chinese ceramics, Noh masks, and books about East Asian art in Japanese and various European languages. Although he never traveled to Japan, Tressan taught himself Japanese, using the textbooks of Leon de Rosny, in order to read the Japanese books he had collected. According to Tressan, Japanese porcelain was closely imitating Chinese models, while Japanese stoneware was truly original. (G. de Tressan, *Notes sur l'art japonais*, Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1905; *Collection de M. le Marquis de Tressan, gardes de sabres japonaises (tsuba) du XIVe au XIXe siècle Kozuka - Fuchi-kashira Céramique de la Chine et du Japon Masque de No Ouvrages d'art sur l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris: Hôtel Druot, 1933; Minami Asuka, "Un précurseur de l'histoire de l'art japonais en France : Georges de Tressan (1877-1914)," *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 65, 2010.)	- His home, where his circle of friends and acquaintances had access to the collection (including mostly fellow collectors) - His writings about Japanese art (Tressan combined his activity as art historian with his knowledge and experience as collector)

Table 5. Members of the network, in order of betweenness centrality (as explained on p. 86) from most to least connected, with information pertaining to their involvement in japoniste ceramics and their presence in France.

Member of the network	**Criteria for inclusion**	
Name	**Relevance to japoniste ceramics**	**Active in:**
Siegfried Bing (1838-1905)	Bing collected, and dealt in, Japanese art, especially Japanese ceramics. He studied the history of Japanese art and especially of ceramics and porcelain and contributed the chapter on ceramics in the first history of Japanese art in nineteenth-century France, Gonse's *L'art japonais*. Also, Bing was knowledgeable of the most current experiments in aesthetic expressions that combined fine and decorative art, like the Belgian "Maison d'Art." He commissioned collaborations among artists of diverse backgrounds, most notably for his gallery, "L'Art Nouveau." (Gabriel Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris Style 1900*, Smithsonian Institution, 1986).	Hamburg, Paris
Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914)	Painter, printmaker, and ceramic decorator, Bracquemond collaborated with marchand-editeurs like Eugene Rousseau and with Haviland & Co on the creation of japoniste ceramics, especially tableware. Bracquemond served as director for Haviland's Auteuil studio. Bracquemond's emulation of Japanese motifs was fueled both by his admiration of prints like Hokusai's *Manga* and by the Japanese ceramics that he saw in the private collections of many of his friends and colleagues, including Edmond de Goncourt and Philippe Burty.	Limoges, Paris, Sèvres
Haviland & Co (1864-1930)	The ceramic manufactory Haviland & Co was one of the most prominent and prolific producers of japoniste ceramics, including tableware, for which it employed ceramists who developed new glazing techniques and artists who created new designs, both inspired by Japanese ceramics and imagery, as seen in private and public collections in late 19th-century Paris.	Limoges, Paris
World's Fairs	The World's Fairs, especially those of 1867 (Paris), 1876 (Philadelphia), 1889 (Paris), 1900 (Paris), and 1904 (St. Louis), represented a venue for the public display of private collections of Japanese ceramics and a nexus of collecting and practice where connections were established and collaborations forged; at the fairs, comparisons between styles and	Paris, Philadelphia, St. Louis

	authors were made (and written about) and artists in various mediums found models for their respective practices.	
Edmond de Goncourt (1822-1896)	The writer de Goncourt, initially in collaboration with his brother Jules, collected Japanese art, including ceramics, and contributed, through his writings and friendships, to a rapprochement between historicism – namely, the Rococo Revival – and Japonisme.	Paris
Raymond Koechlin (1860-1931)	Journalist and Louvre curator Koechlin collected widely, from East Asian ceramics to Islamic art, medieval art, and Impressionist and post-Impressionist art. He cultivated friendships with many fellow collectors of Japanese ceramics and wrote a book about their interactions and collecting activities (*Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient*, Chalon-sur-Saone: Imprimerie française et orientale E. Bertrand, 1930). He bought numerous ceramics at auction from other collectors or dealers, especially Siegfried Bing and Hayashi Tadamasa. One of the objects in his collection, attributed to Kenzan, had belonged to Bing and previously to Ninagawa Noritane. He donated his collection to various museums. (Paul Vitry, ed., "Les legs de Raymond Koechlin aux musées de France," *Bulletin des musées de France*, no. 5, May 1932.)	Paris
Charles Haviland (1839-1921)	As collector of Japanese ceramics and producer of japoniste ceramics, Haviland was a central actor connecting knowledge of Japanese ceramics with contemporaneous practice in the ceramic field. His extensive collection of Japanese ceramics presented a wide range of regional styles and mostly focused on stoneware and tea ceremony implements. Haviland supported many japoniste ceramists by providing employment and studio space. He was also open to collaboration with fellow collectors (e.g. Henri Cernuschi, who provided models for Haviland & Co.)	Limoges, Paris
Philippe Burty (1830-1890)	Burty collected Japanese ceramics and books, among other objects, and wrote about Japonisme, coining the term in a series of articles published in 1872: "Japonisme I" (May 1872); "Japonisme II," (June 1872); "Japonisme III," (July 1872); "Japonisme IV" (July 1872); "Japonisme V," (August 1872); and "Japonisme VI," (February 1873), in *La Renaissance Littéraire et Artistique.* Burty's daughter, Madeleine, married the ceramics producer Charles Haviland, the	Limoges, Paris

	owner of Haviland & Co.	
Albert Dammouse (1848-1926) and Edouard Dammouse (1850-1903)	Brothers Albert and Edouard Dammouse worked as ceramists and developed an influential japoniste vocabulary; Albert, in particular, collaborated with key ceramic producers – like Haviland & Co and the Sèvres manufactory -, which contributed to increasing the visibility of his vision among fellow ceramists and other artists and collectors in the japoniste milieu.	Limoges, Paris, Sèvres
Limoges	Limoges was central to japoniste ceramics in many ways, as a site of production, especially through Haviland & Co, and as an umbrella category of ceramics that combined the French Limoges tradition, japoniste values and motifs, and technical innovation.	Limoges
Ernest Chaplet (1835-1909)	Chaplet was a ceramist who created and used japoniste motifs and was a source of inspiration for fellow experimental ceramists. Employed by Haviland & Co, he worked in the company's studios in Limoges and at Auteuil. Chaplet collaborated extensively with designers and other ceramists. In particular, Chaplet's and Gauguin's collaboration in ceramics is often cited as Gauguin's most meaningful encounter with Japanese aesthetics, through the lens of japoniste ceramics.	Auteuil (Paris), Bourg-la-Reine (Paris), Choisy-le-Roi (Paris), Limoges, Paris
Hayashi Tadamasa (1853-1906)	As a collector, Hayashi was interested in both Japanese ceramics and contemporaneous French art, especially academic and Impressionist painting. He donated several ceramic pieces from his collection to the Guimet museum, including a Japanese incense box imitating Dutch Delft porcelain, showing his awareness and embrace of the historical roots of Japonisme and its complementary phenomenon, sometimes referred to as "converse Japonisme," namely the influence of European/ Western aesthetics on Japanese art. (Hayashi Tadamasa, *Collection Hayashi*, Paris, 1902-1903, vol. 2; *Le jubilé du Musée Guimet: vingt-cinquième anniversaire de sa fondation 1879-1904*, Paris: Leroux, 1904.)	Paris, Tokyo
Henri Cernuschi (1821-1896)	Cernuschi amassed a major collection of East Asian art, including Japanese ceramics, after a trip to East Asia with the art critic and book collector Theodore Duret, best known for his writings on the Impressionists. Cernuschi often made his collection available to visitors to his mansion (later transformed into a museum), and offered selected ceramics from	Milan, Paris

	his collection to Haviland & Co as models for their ceramic objects.	
Theodore Duret (1838-1927)	The critic and collector Duret accompanied Henri Cernuschi on his trip to East Asia in the early 1870s, collected Japanese books and compendia of prints, and contributed – through his writings and friendships – to connecting the japoniste milieu with the proponents of the "new painting" in late 19th-century Paris.	Paris
Georges Petit (1856-1920)	The influential dealer and collector Petit inherited an art business from his father, François Petit, and started by dealing in Impressionist painting in the late 1870s. He owned and administered a popular gallery in Paris, where fellow collector Louis Gonse organized the "retrospective exhibition" of Japanese art, with many ceramics drawn from multiple private collections in Paris. At this show, Petit contributed diverse Japanese ceramics from his own collection. (Gonse, *Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1883.)	Paris
Laurent Bouvier (1840-1901)	Bouvier was an academic painter as well as a ceramist, bridging the two mediums and corresponding sociocultural circles through his art – emulating Japanese motifs and modes of representation - and the friendships he cultivated, notably that with Félix Bracquemond.	Isère, Paris
Louis Gonse (1846-1921)	As a collector of Japanese art, including ceramics, and the author of the first French survey of Japanese art, Gonse contributed significantly to what was known about Japanese ceramics and to the formation of japoniste visual vocabularies and cultural references. He often consulted the dealer Hayashi Tadamasa. Siegfried Bing wrote the chapter on ceramics in Gonse's *L'art japonais* of 1883.	Paris
Société des amis de l'art japonais (1892-1942)	The dinners and study meetings of the *Société des amis de l'art japonais* (1892-1942), were attended by japoniste ceramists and designers and collectors of Japanese arts, including E. de Goncourt, S. Bing, R. Koechlin, and A. Rodin, who met to cultivate friendships and to discuss and study Japanese objects, oftentimes ceramics. From its inception to 1930, the organization was administered by a close relative of the Japanese arts collector Charles Gillot; it organized eight dinners per year, for which invitations adorned with Japanese motifs were designed and distributed (Set of documents	Paris

	pertaining to the Société des amis de l'art japonais, archived at BNF in Paris.)	
Auteuil (1873-1887)	The Auteuil studio was one of several sites of production of Haviland & Co, employing several potters and designers who contributed significantly to the formation of a japoniste aesthetic and formal vocabulary.	Auteuil (Paris)
Claude Monet (1840-1926)	The Impressionist painter Monet was connected to japoniste ceramics in many ways; he drew inspiration from japoniste tableware for his own painting and cultivated friendships with collectors of Japanese ceramics, including, for example, Clemenceau (see Chapter 4).	Argenteuil, Giverny, Paris, Zandaam
Adrien Dubouché (1818-1881)	Dubouché combined his collecting activity with supporting the cultural growth of Limoges, by contributing East Asian ceramics to Limoges's museum and establishing an arts school that built on the rich ceramic tradition of the city.	Limoges, Paris
Jing-lar Society (est. 1867)	Established in 1867 by Philippe Burty, the "secret society" of Jing-lar brought together japoniste artists and collectors of Japanese art, all of whom shared similar Republican views (see the "Japoniste Social Spaces" section of the current chapter).	Paris
Frank Burty Haviland (1886-1971)	The son of Charles Haviland, the owner of the japoniste ceramic manufactory in Limoges and Paris, and the grandson of Philippe Burty, collector of Japanese ceramics and critic who coined the term "Japonisme," Frank Burty Haviland grew up in a japoniste milieu, surrounded by Japanese and French contemporary ceramics. He became an artist and used inherited wealth to be a patron for avant-garde artists, especially Pablo Picasso. Frank bought a monastery at Céret, where a group of artists would meet, take residence, and work on new ideas about art in multiple mediums. These artists included, besides Braque and Picasso, Juan Gris and Max Jacob (see Salmon 2005). Céret is perhaps the most literal place of intersection of japoniste ceramics and the emergent canon of modern art.	Céret, Limoges, Paris
Princess Mathilde Bonaparte (1820-1904)	The princess's Salons at Saint-Gratien represented a site of social interaction and intellectual exchange for collectors and dealers of Japanese ceramics, including Siegfried Bing, Edmond de Goncourt, and Mathilde's relative by marriage, the Baron de Chassiron.	Paris
Edouard Manet	Manet was connected to the world of japoniste	Limoges,

(1832-1883)	ceramics through many friendships (e.g. with Giuseppe de Nittis, Alphonse Hirsch), collegial social relationships (e.g. with Theodore Duret), and familial ties, as the brother-in-law of Berthe Morisot. His engagement with Japanese sources – predominantly prints – in his painting was combined with his interest in Spanish sources (his well-documented hispanisme), in ways similar to how japoniste ceramics combined Japanese and French 18th-century motifs.	Paris
Camille Moreau-Nélaton (1840-1897)	The ceramist Moreau-Nélaton studied with Theodore Deck and worked in a highly original japoniste idiom, freely combining elements in visual configurations that emphasize fantasy and the world of imagination (Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, "Souvenir filial," *Camille Moreau: peintre et céramiste*, Paris: Floury, 1899, p. 11.)	Paris
Auguste Sichel (1838-1899) and Philippe Sichel (1840-1899)	Auguste Sichel and his son Philippe traveled to Japan in the 1870s, where they bought most of their collection. Philippe ran a shop in Paris where he and his father sold Japanese objects, including ceramics and especially porcelain. Philippe presented part of his collection of East Asian ceramics at the 1878 World's Fair. In 1883, he published the book *Notes d'un bibeloteur au Japon* (Paris: E Dentu, 1883), dedicated to Cernuschi and with a preface by Edmond de Goncourt. He was often in a competition with other successful dealers of Japanese art, particularly Siegfried Bing and Hayashi Tadamasa. (Philippe Sichel, *Notes d'un bibeloteur au Japon*, Paris: E Dentu, 1883.)	Paris
Paul Gasnault (1828-1898)	Gasnault collected Japanese ceramics alongside European, Chinese, Japanese, and Persian ceramics. His collection entered the Limoges museum through the efforts of Adrien Dubouché. (Musée Adrien Dubouché Limoges, *Catalogue de la Collection Gasnault*. Paris: H. Champion, 1881.)	Paris
Georges Hoentschel (1855-1915)	Interior decorator, collector of medieval and eighteenth-century art, and ceramist, Hoentschel was a marchand-editeur like Eugene Rousseau and Siegfried Bing. Like Felix Bracquemond, he often paired japoniste principles with motifs derived from eighteenth-century arts. He collaborated with fellow japoniste ceramists, including Jean Carriès. For the 1900 World's Fair, he was the architect and designer of the pavilion of the Union centrale des arts	Paris

	décoratifs, bringing japoniste ceramics to the fore of the newest expressions in the category of the "decorative" in 1900. ("Le Pavillon de l'Union centrale des arts décoratifs", contributions by Joseph Balmont and Emile Gallé, in *Revue des Arts décoratifs*, Victor Champier, ed., 1900; pp. 169, 218-224; Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide, ed., *Salvaging the Past: Georges Hoentschel and French Decorative Arts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Yale Univ. Press, 2013.)	
G.D.A. manufactory of Limoges	The G.D.A. manufactory of Limoges produced porcelain and tableware that employed japoniste motifs, sometimes commissioned by, or in collaboration with, other producers (for example, Bing's gallery "L'Art Nouveau.")	Limoges
Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929)	The politician Clemenceau collected Japanese art and especially ceramic incense boxes. Although focusing on one type of object, Clemenceau purchased examples of a wide range of regional styles. Because of his political career and wide social network, Clemenceau's collection became highly visible in Parisian circles.	Paris
Theodore Deck (1823-1891)	The ceramist Deck, not unlike Amédée de Caranza, created ceramics in emulation of both Islamic and East Asian styles. He worked on his own, in collaboration with other artists – including Felix Bracquemond -, and in an institutional setting, as art director of Sèvres. His interest in technical innovation and the development of new glazes was combined with a rich exchange of ideas about cross-cultural emulation with colleagues and friends, including the art critic Champfleury.	Paris, Sèvres
Sèvres	The Sèvres porcelain manufactory represented a site of intersection for japoniste ceramists and artists who collaborated with potters and manufactories as porcelain painters and designers of ceramic decorative programs. Albert Carrier-Belleuse, Champfleury, Theodore Deck, and Felix Bracquemond, among many others, connected the rich ceramic tradition of Sèvres with japoniste ideas and practices.	Sèvres
Tiburce Morisot (1806-1874) and Berthe Morisot (1841-1895)	Berthe Morisot had many ties to the world of japoniste ceramic; she often made introductions, connected ideas, and used what she saw and learned in her own painting. Her father, Tiburce, was the founder of the Limoges museum, which, under the	Limoges, Paris

	direction of his successor, Adrien Dubouché, would become a center for the study of Japanese ceramics. Her brother-in-law Edouard Manet and her friend Auguste Renoir were equally aware of, and participating in, this cross-cultural exchange. Also, Morisot exchanged paintings for Japanese prints with the dealer Hayashi Tadamasa, in ways similar to how Hayashi and the painter Raphael Collin exchanged paintings and ceramics. (Mabuchi, Koyama-Richard et al, *Correspondance adressée à Hayashi Tadamasa*, Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2001).	
Henri Lambert (1836-1909)	Painter and ceramics designer and decorator, Lambert employed japoniste motifs and worked for Haviland and for Sèvres.	Paris, Sèvres
Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925)	Morse's collection of Japanese arts, including ceramics, and his keen interest in Japanese ceramics were central to the dissemination of knowledge about Japanese arts and culture in New England and generally the U.S. Morse and the French collector Georges Clemenceau knew each other and of their shared interests. Both Morse and Bing were seeking to create comprehensive replicas of the collection of Japanese ceramics that the antiquarian and dealer Ninagawa Noritane had and endorsed, especially through his influential *Kanko zusetsu* ceramics treatise. (Morse, "Ninagawa's Types of Japanese Pottery" in *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 1913, IX: 10.)	London, Salem, Tokyo; traveled to, and had connections in, Paris
James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903)	Whistler, whose engagement with Japanese aesthetics led to the formation of his style and to new ideas about art, bridged collectors and dealers across the places he lived in and/ or visited. For example, it may be that Whistler introduced Charles Lang Freer to Siegfried Bing. (Th. Lawton, *Freer: A Legacy of Art*, Smithsonian Institution, 1993, p. 116; D. Sutherland, *Whistler: A Life for Art's Sake*, Yale U. Press, 2014.)	London, Paris, Springfield, St. Petersburg
Adolphe d'Ennery (1811-1899) and Clémence d'Ennery (1823-1898)	The collection of Adolphe and Clémence d'Ennery was comprised of Japanese art in multiple mediums and genres, including a sample of Japanese ceramics that – as noted by Edmond de Goncourt – emphasized an imaginative dimension and playful motifs. The couple's many social connections made the collection known widely even before the opening of the d'Ennery museum in 1908.	Paris
Auguste Renoir (1841-	Renoir had many ties with, and a deep affinity for, the realms of Japonisme and ceramics. He started his	Limoges, Paris

1919)	artistic career as a decorator for the porcelain-painting workshop of M. Lévy in Limoges, where he was born. Along with his friend Berthe Morisot, whose father founded the Limoges museum, Renoir incorporated japoniste aspects in his oeuvre and pursued a lifelong interest in East Asian porcelain. Renoir's legacy was carried on by some of his students, including the Japanese painter Umehara Ryūsaburō, who was aware of Renoir's ties to Limoges.	
Taxile Doat (1851-1939)	The ceramist Doat contributed significantly to the development of the japoniste visual vocabulary in ceramics and to its dissemination, through his work at Sèvres and, after 1909, at University City on the outskirts of St. Louis.	Paris, Sèvres, St. Louis
Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919)	The American collector of Japanese art, Freer, acquired ceramics from French collections through the dealer Siegfried Bing; for example, he bought ceramics from the sale of Edmond de Goncourt's collection. His acquisitions contributed to the wider international circulation of Japanese ceramics formerly in France.	Detroit, New York, Tokyo; traveled to, and acquired ceramics in, Paris
Salon	The landscape of the Salon was changed by the many ways in which japoniste values and motifs permeated the painting and sculpture produced in the second half of the 19th century. Members of the japoniste ceramic world, from Edouard Manet to Felix Bracquemond to Laurent Bouvier, exhibited at the Academy's Salon and contributed, through their exhibited (and rejected) works, to the animated debate about what constituted (good) art and what directions new art was embarking on.	Paris
Paul Signac (1863-1935)	The post-impressionist painter Paul Signac, through various social connections – notably his friendship with Felix Fénéon –, was aware of Parisian collections of Japanese ceramics and understood the contemporaneous japoniste art production.	Paris
Mary Cassatt (1844-1926)	Cassatt fully participated in the emulation of Japanese aesthetics, as an artist – notably through her prints – and as a patron of the arts – acquiring East Asian ceramics and French japoniste ceramics produced by Haviland & Co, including table services designed by her colleague, Félix Bracquemond (Weisberg 1969; Criss 2007; archives of Musée	Paris, Philadelphia

	d'Orsay and the Newport Mansions Preservation Society.)	
Felix Fénéon (1861-1944)	The art critic Fénéon, better known for his writings about post-Impressionist painting and his friendship with Paul Signac, followed the collective acquisition of knowledge about Japanese art and contributed to disseminating it by writing about collections, including that of Pierre Barboutau.	Paris
Edmond Guérin (1844-1932) and Marcel Guérin (1873-1948)	The collector and art historian Marcel Guérin is equally known as the son of Edmond Guérin - wealthy collector, director of several faience and glassware factories in France (Lunéville, Saint-Clément, Portieux), and leader of the ceramists' union in France. Edmond and Marcel collected Japanese ceramics of different kilns and styles and notably tea ceremony implements. Marcel also collected nineteenth-century French prints and published catalogues of prints by Manet, Degas, and Gauguin. (*Objets d'Art du Japon et de la Chine provenant des Collections Raymond Koechlin, Edmond et Marcel Guérin et Ch. Salomon*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 1926.)	Lunéville, Paris, Portieux, Saint-Clément
Hugues Krafft (1853-1935)	A photographer who traveled to Japan and became interested in emulating Japanese life and culture as he had experienced it, Krafft carefully designed Midori-no-sato, a Japanese house, surrounded by a Japanese garden, which served as a meeting place for many members of the world of japoniste ceramics. For Midori-no-sato, Krafft collaborated with a Japanese landscape designer and sought to combine his subjective vision of Japan with a sense of authenticity (see "Japoniste Social Spaces" in the current section.)	Loges-en-Josas (Versailles), Paris
Marcel Proust (1871-1922)	The writer Marcel Proust circulated among japoniste ceramists and collectors of Japanese ceramics, connecting this world with literary circles and further disseminating japoniste values and ideas within his elite social circle. Proust's godfather was Eugène Mutiaux, collector of Japanese ceramics; Proust, along with Bing, Burty, and others, was a frequent visitor at Krafft's Midori-no-sato (see "Japoniste Social Spaces" in the current chapter.)	Paris
Jules Jacquemart (1837-1880)	Son of the ceramics historian and collector Albert Jacquemart, Jules was connected to the japoniste world in multiple ways: he was a ceramist himself, a member of the japoniste Republican society known as the Jing-lar, and a friend of the collector and writer	Paris

	Edmond de Goncourt, who advocated the rapprochement between Japonisme and the Rococo Revival.	
Paul Jeanneney (1861-1920)	Jeanneney was a ceramist, working with japoniste motifs, and a collector specializing in both Japanese ceramics and contemporaneous French ceramics. In Paris, he made his Japanese ceramics available for viewing to fellow ceramists, notably Jean Carriès, and collected japoniste ceramics by Chaplet, Dalpayrat, and other contemporaries, all while continuing his own japoniste ceramic practice. His collection included Japanese celadon bowls that Carriès mentioned as major influences in his own ceramics. (Alexandre Arsène, *Jean Carriès, imagier et potier: étude d'une oeuvre et d'une vie*, Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1895.)	Paris, Strasbourg
David Haviland (1814-1879)	The father of Charles and Theodore, David Haviland moved from the United States to France, where he established the Haviland ceramic manufactory in – not coincidentally – Limoges, a locality with one of the richest ceramic histories in France and in Europe. David's focus on the ceramic business was a major catalyst in the career choices and lifelong pursuits of his sons, whose work furthered the development of japoniste vocabularies.	Limoges, Paris
Theodore Haviland (1842-1919)	David's son and Charles's brother, Theodore was sent to Limoges to administer marketing and distribution for his father's ceramic manufactory. Theodore eventually opened his own company in 1893 and moved it to the US in 1936, where it lasted until 1957. Less radical and experimental than the ceramics produced by Charles, Theodore's objects subtly married French rococo elements with japoniste motifs.	Limoges, Paris
Paul Burty Haviland (1880-1950)	The son of Charles Haviland, the owner of Haviland & Co, and the grandson of Philippe Burty, collector of Japanese ceramics and critic who coined the term "Japonisme," Paul Burty Haviland was steeped in japoniste values, ceramic culture, and new ideas about the union of art and craft. He became a photographer and an associate, supporter, and close friend of Alfred Stieglitz, who published Paul's photographs in *Camera Work*. Paul's wife, Suzanne Lalique-Haviland, was the daughter of glass designer René Lalique and a ceramics decorator, working on porcelain at the Sèvres manufactory. Both Paul and	Limoges, New York, Paris

	Suzanne were deeply influenced by Japanese ceramics and employed japoniste aesthetic principles in their ceramic and photographic works.	
Pablo Picasso (1881-1973)	Picasso was a close friend and collaborator of Frank Burty Haviland, the son of Charles Haviland, the owner of the japoniste ceramic manufactory Haviland & Co, and the grandson of Philippe Burty, collector of Japanese ceramics and critic who coined the term "Japonisme." Frank Burty Haviland was a patron of Picasso and exposed his friend to the Japanese and japoniste ceramics of Frank's formative years. Picasso, along with Braque, was a core member of the School of Céret, established by Burty Haviland. (See Salmon 2005, among other sources on the origins of Cubism and of modern art.)	Avignon, Barcelona, Céret, Madrid, Paris
Georges Braque (1882-1963)	The Cubist painter Braque was a friend of Frank Burty Haviland, the son of Charles Haviland, the owner of the japoniste ceramic manufactory in Limoges and Paris, and the grandson of Philippe Burty, collector of Japanese ceramics and critic who coined the term "Japonisme." Braque was a member of the group known as the School of Céret, established by Burty Haviland. (See Salmon 2005, among numerous sources such as artist monographs and books on the origins of Cubism and the origins of modern art.)	Argenteuil, Céret, Le Havre, Paris
Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946)	Stieglitz, as a central exponent of the Photo-Secession and the emergence of photography as art, was connected to Japonisme and the aesthetic values of Japanese ceramics through friendships and collaborations, the most powerful of which was that with Paul Burty Haviland, the son of Charles Haviland – owner of Haviland & Co – and the grandson of Philippe Burty – early theoretician of the japoniste phenomenon and collector of Japanese ceramics. Paul became a patron of Stieglitz and of Stieglitz's wife, the painter Georgia O'Keeffe. (*Paul Burty Haviland (1880-1950), photographe: 16 octobre 1996-5 janvier 1997, Musée d'Orsay,* exh. cat., Paris: RMN, 1996; *My Faraway One: Selected Letters of Georgia O'Keeffe and Alfred Stieglitz*, Yale Univ. Press, 2011.)	New York
Marie Bracquemond (1840-1916)	Marie was a painter, printmaker, and ceramic decorator. She was married to Félix Bracquemond. As Jennifer Criss has shown, Marie provided japoniste designs and painted ceramics for Haviland	Limoges, Paris

	& Co, although she was not formally employed and there is no evidence of compensation. (J. Criss, "Japonisme and beyond in the art of Marie Bracquemond, Mary Cassatt, and Berthe Morisot, 1867–1895," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2007.)	
Eugène Rousseau (1827-1891)	The marchand-editeur Rousseau specialized in the production of ceramics, especially tableware, and glassware; he collaborated with Felix Bracquemond and the Creil & Montereau manufactory in the production of the 1866-67 table service known as Bracquemond-Rousseau, featured at the 1867 Paris World's Fair and considered – as a set - the first japoniste ceramic object (see section 2, Chapter 3).	Paris
Creil & Montereau (1840-1895)	In collaboration with artists and entrepreneurs (marchand-editeurs), the ceramic manufacture of Creil & Montereau produced numerous japoniste ceramics, especially tableware, including the 1866-67 Bracquemond-Rousseau service, featured at the 1867 World's Fair and considered to be the first example of Japonisme in ceramics.	Creil, Montereau, Paris
Champfleury (1821-1889)	Although critical of the fad for Japanese things, Champfleury understood the value of ceramics as both capturing and fueling sociopolitical and sociocultural change. In 1867, he published a book about French folk ceramics with revolutionary content, which he collected. Also, he served as curator of Sèvres, where he collaborated with the japoniste ceramist Theodore Deck, and was a friend of Félix Bracquemond, with whom he shared similar political views.	Paris
Ernest Chesneau (1833-1890)	The art critic Chesneau wrote about the phenomenon of Japonisme as early as 1868, particularly in relation to Japanese porcelain and the inventiveness of its decoration, which he saw as an influential model in contemporary European art. Chesneau was one of the first critics to internalize and express the aesthetic principles that governed Japanese ceramic decoration and to encourage French artists – working in multiple media – to understand and adapt Japanese modes of representation and decoration (E. Chesneau, *Les nations rivales dans l'art; l'art japonais; de l'influence des expositions internationales sur l'avenir de l'art*, Paris: Didier, 1868).	Paris
Albert Jacquemart	Jacquemart was a ceramics historian, author of an early comprehensive survey of world ceramics	Paris

(1808-1875)	(*Histoire de la céramique: étude descriptive et raisonnée des poteries de tous les temps et de tous les peuples*, 1873) and a frequent lecturer on a global and comparative history of ornamentation. He collected Japanese ceramics alongside European, Chinese, and Persian ceramics. In particular, he collected some important examples of eighteenth-century French imitations of Chinese and Japanese porcelain. His collection of Japanese ceramics was comprised exclusively of porcelain (Musée Adrien Dubouché, *Catalogue de la Collection Jacquemart, publié d'après le manuscrit original laissé par Albert Jacquemart*. Paris: Charles Unsinger, 1879.)	
Nélie Jacquemart (1841-1912)	The niece of sculptor Aimé Millet and daughter of Joseph Jacquemart, Nélie was an artist, specializing in portraiture, and an acquaintance and colleague of Berthe Morisot. Jacquemart and her husband, Edouard André, formed a major collection of painting, sculpture, porcelain, and furniture of the long eighteenth century, bequeathed to the Institut de France. Through their connections in japoniste circles, the couple was aware of Japanese art and the ties between Japanese aesthetics and eighteenth-century French painting proposed by Goncourt (who nonetheless was critical of the opulence on display in the couple's mansion and its contents.) Nélie's husband, André, wrote about the Japanese gardens of Philip Franz von Siebold, the German physician and botanist who introduced Japanese plants to European audiences. (E. de Goncourt, *Journal: mémoires de la vie littéraire*, vol. X, p. 140; E. André on Siebold, *Moniteur Universel*, 1864.)	Paris
Ecole nationale des beaux-arts	The School of the Academy, although at odds with some of the values of japoniste ceramists and collectors of Japanese ceramics, was nonetheless a site of intellectual exchanges and a venue for a major exhibition of Japanese prints in 1890.	Paris
Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956)	A disciple of William Morris, Brangwyn was an artist working in multiple mediums. For his gallery "L'Art Nouveau," Siegfried Bing, collector and dealer of Japanese ceramics, commissioned Brangwyn to design the façade, for which Brangwyn created a painted frieze celebrating ceramics. Brangwyn continued to design objects for Bing's gallery, contributing to the vision of an integrated mode of living with art, fueled by japoniste values.	London, Paris

	Brangwyn's and Bing's collaboration is exemplary of what Debora Silverman described as the focus on the private interior in Art Nouveau (see Silverman 1992).	
William Morris (1834-1896)	The multifaceted artist, producer, and dealer William Morris was one of the first and the most influential in connecting the emulation of Japanese aesthetic and cultural values with the emergent Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic Movement. In Paris, Bing sold Morris's objects (especially fabrics) at his gallery "L'Art Nouveau"; also, Morris's student, Brangwyn, collaborated with Bing, who commissioned his works. (Ono Ayako, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-century Japan*, Routledge, 2013).	London, Paris
Léon Pallandre (1837-?)	The japoniste ceramic decorator Pallandre worked both for Sèvres and for Haviland & Co in the Auteuil studio of the manufactory.	Auteuil (Paris), Sèvres
Lisaac (active 1880s)	The ceramist Lisaac created japoniste ceramics for Haviland & Co, in the 1880s, for the Limoges and Auteuil studios of the manufactory.	Auteuil (Paris), Limoges
E. Girardin (active 1880s)	The ceramist Girardin employed japoniste motifs, collaborated with fellow japoniste ceramists – including Albert Dammouse –, and worked for Haviland & Co in Limoges.	Limoges, Paris
Henry Somm (1844-1907)	Somm (whose full name was François Clément Sommier) was a painter (Impressionist and an early Symbolist) who also provided designs for ceramic decoration, working with Haviland & Co for the manufactory's Auteuil Studio. (Some pieces from that collaboration are in the private collection of Laurens d'Albis.)	Auteuil (Paris)
Laurin manufactory (1856-1901, under the direction of François Laurin, 1826-1901)	Established in the late 18th century, the Laurin ceramic manufactory took a new direction from the mid-19th century, led by François Laurin (1826-1901), who attracted innovative ceramists from japoniste circles to work for his enterprise, including Ernest Chaplet and Edouard Dammouse.	Bourg-la-Reine (Paris)
Charles Midoux (active 1870s)	The japoniste ceramist Midoux worked, as a decorator of ceramics, for Haviland & Co in the Auteuil studio of the manufactory. Examples of his work are extant in numerous private and public collections, e.g. at the Musée d'Orsay.	Auteuil (Paris)
Jules-Auguste Habert-Dys	The japoniste ceramist and printmaker Habert-Dys studied with Félix Bracquemond and worked for	Paris

(1950-1930)	Haviland & Co at Auteuil and for Louis Carrier-Belleuse, the son of Albert Carrier-Belleuse, at Choisy-le-Roi. Habert-Dys taught at the Ecole des Arts Décoratifs in Paris and, in 1900, published a book illustrating and cataloging decorative motifs, like a dictionary of his formal vocabulary, akin to both Japanese and French pattern books. (See Habert-Dys, *Motifs décoratifs*, Paris: Librairie de l'art, 1900[?]).	
Emile Renard (active 1870s)	The japoniste ceramist Emile Renard worked for the Sèvres manufactory and for Haviland & Co in the latter's Auteuil studio in Paris. Some of his works (designed for Sèvres) were on display at the 1876 World's Fair in Philadelphia. (*International Exhibition, 1876: Official Catalogue*, p. 40.)	Auteuil (Paris), Sèvres
Léon Parizot (active 1870s & 1880s)	The japoniste ceramist Parizot worked for Haviland & Co in Limoges and the Auteuil studio of the manufactory.	Paris, Limoges
Bourg-la-Reine	Bourg-la-Reine, in the outskirts of Paris, concentrated a number of japoniste ceramists, some of whom were working for Haviland & Co, and was also the site of the Laurin manufactory, where Chaplet and Dalpayrat, among others, worked.	Bourg-la-Reine (Paris)
Choisy-le-Roi studio (1887-1909)	Under the direction of Ernest Chaplet, the Choisy-le-Roi studio produced numerous japoniste ceramics and new uses of glaze, developing – for example - the flambé glaze, characterized by a combination of copper red and turquoise blue, achieved through a remarkable control of the material through technical innovation (reducing oxygen in the kiln for creating the red and increasing it for creating the blue).	Choisy-le-Roi (Paris)
Amédée de Caranza (active 1970-1906)	The ceramist and glassmaker de Caranza worked at multiple studios and manufactories, often employing japoniste motifs and combining them with other influences, especially Turkish and Islamic decorative vocabulary, with which he had become familiar in Constantinople.	Bordeaux, Creil, Montereau, New York
Jules Vieillard (1813-1868)	Vieillard owned and operated the J. Vieillard & Cie. ceramic manufactory at Bordeaux, where he collaborated with japoniste ceramists like Amédée de Caranza and Adrien Dalpayrat and commissioned decoration for table ware drawn from Japanese imagery. ("Service rouge et or," attributed to Amédée de Caranza, produced by Jules Vieillard in Bordeaux, 1878; drawing for a plate of the red and golden service, 1885, made for the Vieillard manufactory,	Bordeaux, Paris

	Musée des arts décoratifs, Bordeaux.)	
Edouard Girard (? - 1893)	The japoniste ceramist Girard worked for Haviland's Auteuil studio in Paris.	Paris
Eugène Morand (1853-1930)	Morand was a painter, playwright, and ceramics decorator. He collaborated with Haviland & Co at the company's Auteuil studio. Presumably the Morands and the Havilands spent time together; Paul Burty Haviland met his future wife Suzanne Lalique in the home of Morand (see iconographic entry and related literature for Suzanne Lalique's painting, *La partie de pocker*, 1933, Carnavalet Museum, accession no. CARP2368.)	Auteuil (Paris)
Edouard Lindeneher (1837-1910)	Ceramist who employed japoniste motifs, Lindeneher worked for Haviland & Co at the Auteuil studio. Prior to his collaboration with Haviland, Lindeneher served on the "Comité de la Fédération des Artistes sous la Commune," the committee on the arts during the Paris Commune of 1871. Lindeneher was also a sculptor and a goldsmith.	Auteuil (Paris)
Jean-Paul Aubé (1837-1916)	Aubé worked for the Auteuil studio of Haviland & Co.	Auteuil (Paris)
Rue Blomet studio (1882-1887)	The studio, known for its location on Blomet street, was opened and run by Haviland & Co, under the direction of Ernest Chaplet, who collaborated with fellow ceramists and designers in the production of japoniste ceramics. (Elizabeth Sullivan, "French Art Pottery," thematic essay, Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History, Metropolitan Museum of Art, December 2014.)	Paris
Frédéric Hexamer (1847-1924)	The sculptor Hexamer did bronze statuary and ceramics, working for Haviland & Co at rue Blomet studio and collaborating with fellow japoniste ceramists, including Chaplet and Edouard Dammouse.	Paris
Leullier fils et Bing manufactory (est. 1863)	The Leullier fils et Bing ceramic manufactory was the result of a collaboration between Siegfried Bing and Jean-Baptiste Ernest Leullier, both marchand-editeurs and porcelain manufacturers, whose ceramics – commercially successful – employed japoniste motifs and represented a stepping stone for Bing's career. It was through this company that Bing started to deal in Chinese and Japanese objects. (Moscatiello 2011, p. 67, n. 67.)	Esternay (Marne), Conflans (Val-de-Marne), Paris
Georges de	The artist de Feure collaborated with Siegfried Bing,	Amsterda

Feure (1868-1943)	collector and dealer of Japanese art, especially for Bing's gallery "L'Art Nouveau," contributing designs for diverse projects, including ceramics. The collaboration between Bing and de Feure exemplified the internalization of japoniste modes of representation and decoration and the applicability of these modes to early expressions of what is canonically known as modern art.	m, Paris
Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890)	The painter van Gogh is known to have bought Japanese prints from Siegfried Bing, through his brother Theo. Connected through Bing and Gauguin to the japoniste world, van Gogh brought his internalization of Japanese imagery to his painting and shared prints acquired from Bing with his fellow artists, including – as mentioned in a letter to Theo – Emile Bernard. Japanese prints represented a source of subject matter and novel representational solutions not only for van Gogh and fellow post-Impressionist painters, but also for French ceramists and designers of ceramics decoration (V. van Gogh, letter to his brother Theo, from Arles, Sunday, July 15th, 1888.)	Paris
Edmé Samson (1810-1891)	As noted by Florence Slitine, Samson's porcelain manufactory, in imitating a remarkably wide range of ceramic objects and styles, displayed versatility and technical ingenuity; also, as a producer of copies, Samson reflected the full spectrum of the taste in ceramics of the second half of the nineteenth century. Among the many types of porcelain that Samson imitated, Japanese porcelain, in particular, was copied in large quantities, to the extent to which it was mistaken for Japanese older porcelain (As was the case with the Japanese collector Kanbara Hakaru, who collected both Japanese porcelain formerly in European princely collections and 19th-century Samson imitations thereof). (Slitine, *Samson: génie de l'imitation*, Paris, 2002.)	Paris
Fukagawa manufacture (1894-present)	Representatives of the Arita-based Fukagawa family of ceramists (from the Koransha and Fukagawa manufactories) traveled to Paris and Limoges, became aware of japoniste French ceramics, and subsequently integrated what they had internalized in Europe – both japoniste motifs and new technology – in their own products, in a form of circular Japanese Japonisme (see Chapter 3, section 3).	Arita, Tokyo; representatives traveled to Paris and Limoges
Auguste Delâtre (1822-	The etcher and printmaker Delâtre collaborated with Felix Bracquemond, who presumably saw Hokusai's	Paris

1907)	*Manga*, for the first time, in Delâtre's studio. Bracquemond's motifs for his 1866-67 table service were drawn from Hokusai's prints (see Chapter 3, section 2).	
Jacob Bing (1798-1868)	Jacob was the father of August and Siegfried Bing. Running a porcelain manufacturing business, Jacob's professional activity played a major role in his son Siegfried's career. (Gabriel Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris Style 1900*, Smithsonian Institution, 1986).	Hamburg
Ninagawa Noritane (1835-1882)	The archaeologist, antiquarian, dealer, and collector Ninagawa Noritane, through his 10-volume book on Japanese ceramics – *Kanko zusetsu* – deeply influenced the reception of Japanese ceramics in France – notably through Siegfried Bing – as well as in the UK – through Augustus Franks - and the US – especially through Ch. L. Freer and E. S. Morse. (Ninagawa, *Kanko zusetsu: tōki no bu*/ *Notice historique et descriptive sur les arts et industries japonais* ("Historical and Descriptive Notes on the Arts and Industries of Japan: Ceramics"), 10 vol., lithograph illustrations, Tokyo: Gengendō, 1876-1878.)	Tokyo
Raphael Collin (1850-1916)	The painter Collin taught painting to artists visiting from Japan, collected Japanese ceramics – especially tea ceremony implements –, and offered French paintings to the dealer Hayashi Tadamasa in exchange for Japanese ceramics.	Paris
Wakai Kanesaburō (1834-1908)	The dealer, collector, and government official Wakai worked with Hayashi Tadamasa for Japan's export company Kiritsu kōshō gaisha 起立工商会社 (1873-1891) and later joined Hayashi in advising Gonse with his book *L'art japonais* of 1883. Until 1890, Wakai also worked with Hayashi for their shop, "Objets d'art anciens du Japon"/ "Ancient art objects of Japan" in Paris. As vice-president of the Japanese section at the 1878 World's Fair, Wakai presented Korean pottery, further familiarizing French artists and collectors with the differences among Chinese, Japanese, and Korean ware. (Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," 1878.)	Paris, Tokyo
Pierre Barboutau (1862-1916)	Barboutau collected Japanese art, especially ceramics, and published a book with information about the authors, schools, and workshops represented in his collection. (P. Barboutau, with	Paris

	illustrations by George Auriol (drawings) and Vignerot (engravings), *Biographies d'artistes japonais dont les oeuvres figurent dans la collection Pierre Barboutau. Estampes et objets d'art*, Amsterdam: De Vries, 1905.)	
Charles-Gustave Martin de Chassiron (1818-1871)	The baron of Chassiron amassed a collection of East Asian art, including ceramics, during his diplomatic journey to China and Japan in the late 1850s. The Japanese ceramics in his collection provided examples of different styles and regional differences.	Paris
Princess Caroline Murat, Baronne de Chassiron (1832-1902)	It has been suggested that the collection of the baron of Chassiron became better known in japoniste circles through the social ties of his wife, Princess Caroline, who was a relative of Princess Mathilde Bonaparte. Mathilde's salons at Saint-Gratien were attended by many collectors and dealers of Japanese ceramics, including Bing and the Goncourts (G. Lacambre, "Hokusai and the French Diplomats," *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, 1987, p. 83).	Paris
Emile Zola (1840-1902)	The writer Zola was a friend of the artist Edouard Manet, who had many ties to the world of japoniste ceramics, and of the politician Georges Clemenceau, who collected Japanese ceramics. Through such friendships, Zola became acquainted with Japanese and japoniste ceramics and the discourse around them. (The Dreyfus Affair: "J'accuse" and Other Writings, Yale University Press, 1998; C. Armstrong, Chapter 2, *Manet Manette*, Yale University Press, 2002.)	Paris
Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924)	Celebrated in Japan as the father of modern Japanese Western-style painting, Kuroda spent 10 years studying academic and Impressionist painting in France, where he cultivated friendships with the dealer and collector Hayashi Tadamasa and the artist and collector Raphael Collin, whose studio he entered as a student. (Tanaka Atsushi, "The Life and Arts of Kuroda Seiki," Kuroda Memorial Hall, Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties.) Through his ties to Collin and Hayashi, among others, Kuroda brought back to Japan not only a nuanced understanding of French painting, but also an awareness of the French japoniste phenomenon, one in which, as he had surely witnessed, ceramics represented a central form of currency.	Paris, Tokyo
Antoine de la	The dealer de la Narde specializing in Chinese and	Paris

Narde (1839-?)	Japanese art; as a collector of Japanese ceramics, he owned a wide range of wares. His pieces, both from his personal collection and those for sale, were made visible to other collectors in his Parisian shop.	
Octave Du Sartel (1823-?)	The collector and dealer Du Sartel specialized in Japanese and Chinese porcelain and authored a connoisseurial book on Chinese porcelain, *La porcelaine de la Chine* (Paris: A. Morel, 1881).	Paris
Mme. Duvauchel (active 1870s)	Duvauchel was a dealer of East Asian ceramics and had her own collection, as described by fellow collectors Gasnault and Gonse. Her shop was a public outlet for the display of her ceramics. (Paul Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 1878; Gonse, *L'art ancien à l'Exposition de 1878*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1879.)	Paris
Benjamin Fillon (1819-1881)	As a collector, Fillon purchased and displayed Chinese and Japanese pieces alongside many other kinds of ceramics, including early French pottery and European Renaissance ceramics. (Paul Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 1878.)	Paris
Charles Firmin Gillot (1853-1903)	Charles Gillot formed an extensive collection of Japanese ceramics of various regional styles; he was connected with many other fellow collectors and dealers, including Siegfried Bing, who curated the posthumous sale of Gillot's collection. (Durand-Ruel auction catalogue for the Gillot collection, 1904)	Paris
M. Lévy (active 1850s)	It was in the porcelain shop of M. Lévy that Auguste Renoir apprenticed as a ceramic decorator, learning about the ceramic tradition of Limoges and witnessing the various ways in which that tradition was continually revised and reinvented.	Limoges
Ernest Grandidier (1833-1912)	A wealthy collector who traveled to East Asia in the 1870s, Grandidier published a connoisseurial book on Chinese ceramics, *La céramique chinoise: porcelaine orientale, date de sa découverte, explication des sujets de décor, les usages divers, classification* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894). Grandidier's collecting of Japanese ceramics complemented his efforts of understanding Chinese ceramics, especially Chinese porcelain.	Paris
Gaston Migeon (1861-1930)	Art historian, collector of Japanese art, and Louvre curator, Migeon situated Japanese ceramics in multiple historical contexts, particularly within the emergent fields of East Asian art history and the	Paris

	global history of ceramics. Migeon contributed to the formation of the earliest collection of Japanese ceramics of the Louvre, mostly from donations from fellow collectors. (« Au musée du Louvre – un nouvel don Grandidier», *Les Nouvelles de l'Intermédiaire*, no. 1, 1895.)	
Eugène Mutiaux (1846-1925)	The godfather of writer Marcel Proust, Mutiaux collected East Asian ceramics, along with Islamic art, early modern prints, and ancient and medieval art. He donated part of his collection of East Asian art to the Louvre in 1925. According to Koechlin, Mutiaux was particularly interested in collecting Japanese and Korean stoneware (Raymond Koechlin, *Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient*, Chalon-sur-Saone: E. Bertrand, 1930.)	Paris
Félix Régamey (1844-1907)	The painter Régamey traveled to Japan with the collector Emile Guimet, whose writings he often illustrated. While in Japan, Régamey studied Japanese painting with Kyosai, a choice that Gonse disapproved of, but which proved fruitful for Régamey's understanding of Japanese aesthetic principles. (Louis Gonse, *L'art japonais*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1883, pp. 110, 135; also see "Collecting 'Japan' in Nineteenth-Century France" in the current chapter).	Paris
Emile Guimet (1836-1918)	Guimet combined business, social engagement, and art collecting, pursuing his interest in East Asian art and especially in the connection between art and religion in China and Japan. He traveled to Japan in 1876 with the artist F. Regamey and brought to France a diverse collection that included ceramics. He opened his museum in 1889 and was dedicated to its development for the rest of his life, profoundly contributing to the dissemination and internalization of knowledge about Japanese culture in elite intellectual circles in late 19th-century France.	Paris
Mme. Hatty (active 1880s-90s)	Mme. Hatty was a dealer and collector of Japanese objects, including ceramics. Some of her pieces were acquired from sales of Philippe Burty's collection. (*Catalogue des objets de la Chine et du Japon, écritoires et boîtes en laque, inrôs, netzukés, sculptures, objets variés... appartenant à madame Hatty*. Paris, 1895.)	Paris
Alphonse Hirsch (1843-1884)	Hirsch was both collector and artist and a friend of Edouard Manet and Edgar Degas. Alongside ceramics, Hirsch collected Japanese bronzes and	Paris

	weaponry. Hirsch exhibited a sample of his collection of Japanese ceramics at Georges Petit's gallery in 1883, for the "retrospective exhibition" organized by fellow collector Louis Gonse. (Gonse, *Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1883.)	
Jean Carriès (1855-1894)	Carriès produced japoniste ceramics and influenced the work of fellow ceramists. He drew inspiration from the collection of Japanese ceramics of his friend and colleague, the ceramist and collector Paul Jeanneney.	Limoges, Paris
Adrien Dalpayrat (1844-1910)	The ceramist Dalpayrat authored japoniste ceramics and collaborated with other ceramists working with the same principles and vocabulary. Like his colleagues Ernest Chaplet and Theodore Deck, Dalpayrat is known for novel combinations of imagery and technical innovation that led to the creation of new glazes (like the "Dalpayrat rouge," a streaky red glaze.)	Bordeaux, Bourg-la-Reine (Paris), Limoges, Paris
Florine Langweil (1861-1958)	Langweil had a successful shop of "objects d'art" in Paris, where she met and befriended other dealers and collectors, one of whom was Henri Rivière. She commercialized Chinese and Japanese art and formed her own collection of Chinese and Japanese art, including ceramics. Langweil donated objects from her collection, including Japanese stoneware and porcelain, to the Guimet Museum. (Georges Henri Rivière, *La museología*, AKAL: Arte y estetica, 1993, p. 24; Frédérique Goerig, "Florine Langweil (1861-1958) enrichit les collections colmariennes" in *Annuaire*, Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Colmar, 2005.)	Paris
L. Poiret (active 1870s & 1880s)	The collector Poiret exhibited objects from his collection of Chinese and Japanese ceramics, for the first time, at the 1878 World's Fair, where he had one of two largest display cases, together with that of Octave du Sartel). Fellow collectors Paul Gasnault and Louis Gonse knew of and wrote about Poiret's collection (Paul Gasnault, "Exposition Universelle, La Céramique de l'Extrême Orient," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 1878.)	Paris
Henri Rivière (1864-1951)	Painter, printmaker, photographer, stage designer, and writer, Rivière also collected Japanese ceramics, among other forms of Japanese art. Like with Collin, the dealer and collector Hayashi Tadamasa developed a special relationship with Rivière, to whom he was	Paris

	offering privileged access to his direct imports from Japan in exchange for Rivière's art, including decorative panels that Rivière painted for Hayashi's home in Tokyo. He bequeathed some of the Japanese ceramics he collected to the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris. In 1923, Rivière collaborated with writer and collector Charles Vignier to compile a compendium of illustrations and descriptions of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean ceramics, drawn from private and public French collections (Henri Rivière and Charles Vignier, *La céramique dans l'art d'Extrême-Orient: recueil de cent soixante-deux pièces reproduites en couleurs d'après les originaux choisis dans les musées et dans les collections françaises et étrangères*, Paris: Albert Lévy, 1923.)	
Auguste Rodin (1840-1917)	Best known as a sculptor, Rodin was also a ceramic designer and decorator, involved in collaborative japoniste projects, and a collector whose interests ranged from Egyptian antiquities to contemporaneous sculpture. Rodin collected Japanese ceramics, particularly contemporaneous/ 19th-century objects. Rodin was looking at Japanese ceramics – his own and those of his friends and fellow collectors Bing and Koechlin – while working on japoniste ceramics, especially at the initiative of Albert Carrier-Belleuse (1824-1887), artistic director at Sèvres (*Rodin: le rêve japonais*, exh. cat., Rodin Museum, 2007.)	Meudon (Paris), Paris
Albert Carrier-Belleuse (1824-1887)	The ceramist Carrier-Belleuse employed japoniste motifs and aesthetic principles in his work at Minton and Sèvres and, in his collaboration with the sculptor Auguste Rodin, challenged hierarchies of value and the notions of "sculptural" and "decorative." His son, Louis Carrier-Belleuse, ran a ceramic manufactory at Choisy-le-Roi, where he employed his father as well as other japoniste ceramists, including Jules Habert-Dys.	Minton, Paris, Sèvres
Charles Salomon (1862-1936)	Salomon collected East Asian art, including Japanese ceramics, and wrote about Russian art and literature. Salomon lived in Russia and translated, into French, works by his friend Leo Tolstoy, with whom he had a long correspondence. This professional and social relationship is relevant because of Lev Tolstoy's ties to "underground" Japanese-Russian circles, as discussed by historian Sho Konishi in his influential book, *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern*	Moscow, Paris

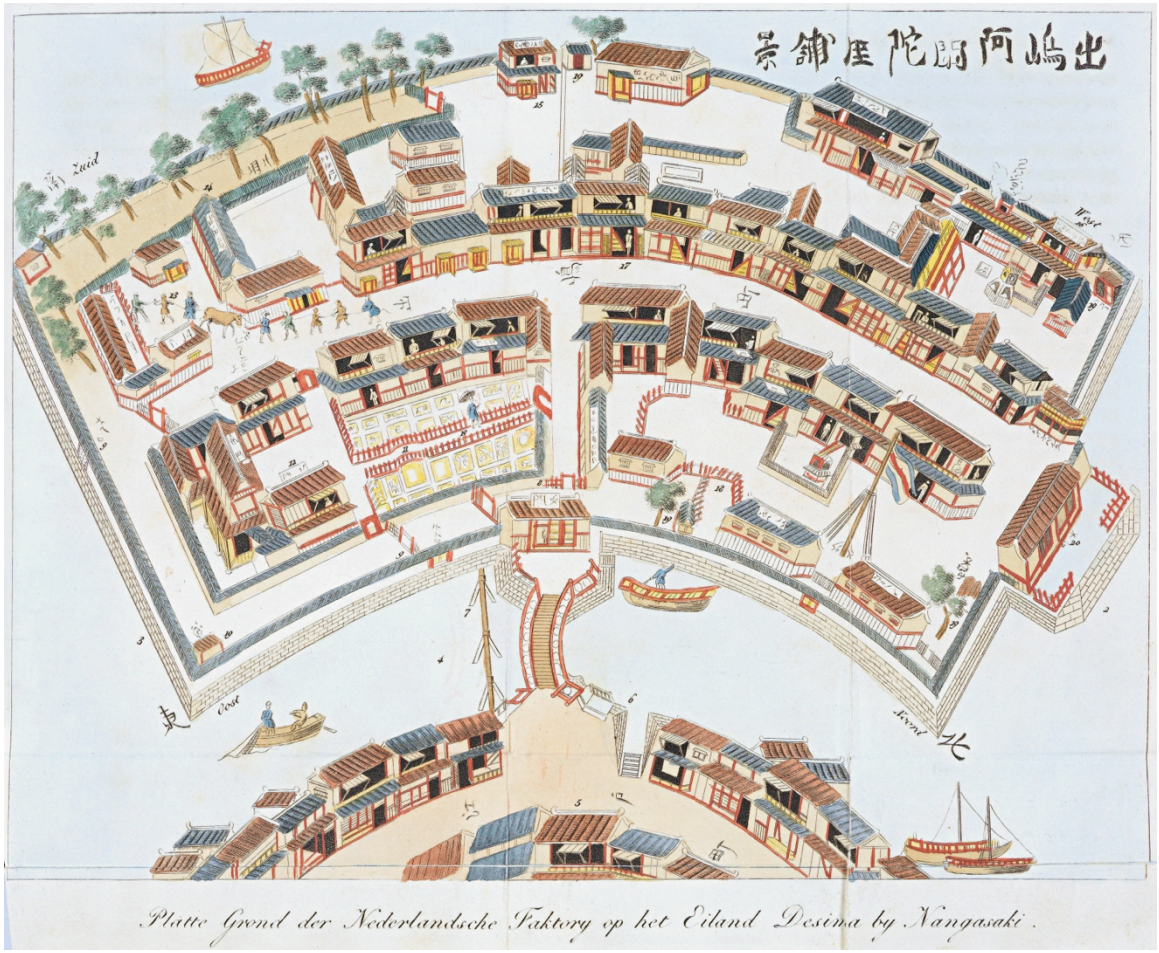
	Japan (Harvard University Asia Center, 2013). The extent to which Tolstoy and Salomon discussed their respective understandings of Japanese culture remains to be investigated. Salomon later became the vice-president of the Russian chamber of commerce in Paris. Presumably, he acquired Japanese objects both through his friend Siegfried Bing and directly from Japan. In the 1890s, Salomon donated objects from his collection to the Louvre. Salomon regarded the Japanese ceramics he collected through the filter of a good understanding of Japanese cultural references, enabled by relevant books and prints in his collection. (Raymond Koechlin, *Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient*, Chalon-sur-Saone: E. Bertrand, 1930.)	
Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910)	Tolstoy became acquainted with Japanese art through his involvement in Japanese-Russian intellectual circles and possibly through the eyes of his friend, Charles Salomon, who not only translated some of his writings into French, but also formed an important collection of Japanese objects, including numerous ceramics. (Raymond Koechlin, *Souvenirs d'un vieil amateur d'art de l'Extrême-Orient*, Chalon-sur-Saone: Imprimerie française et orientale E. Bertrand, 1930; Tolstoy's letters to Salomon, see *Tolstoy: His Life and Work*, by Derrick Leon, Routledge, 2015.)	Moscow, Paris
Edmond Taigny (1828-1906)	Nephew of the artist Jean-Baptiste Isabey, Taigny was an art historian and a collector of decorative arts, especially East Asian and Japanese art. Along with other collectors, Taigny contributed to the dissemination of knowledge about Japanese ceramics by participating with stoneware and porcelain at Gonse's "retrospective exhibition" of Japanese arts at Georges Petit's gallery in Paris. (Gonse, *Catalogue de l'exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais*, Paris: A. Quantin, 1883.)	Paris
Jean-Baptiste Isabey (1767-1855)	Although not a direct participant in the japoniste phenomenon, the painter Isabey symbolically became a bridge between some sociocultural changes of the early 19th century – to which he subtly contributed, considering his affiliation with Mme. de Stael and his embrace of miniature painting, form historically linked to femininity and domesticity, and the ceramics-focused Japonisme of the second half of the century – considering that his nephew, Edmond	Paris

	Taigny, wrote about Isabey in light of the Japonisme in which he participated as a collector of Japanese art (E. Taigny, *J.-B. Isabey: sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris: E. Panckoucke, 1859.)	
Georges de Tressan (1877-1914)	The marquis de Tressan collected and wrote about Japanese art (after 1900) He became interested in the subject at the 1900 World's Fair. Although he never traveled to Japan, Tressan taught himself Japanese, using the textbooks of Leon de Rosny, in order to read the Japanese books he had collected. According to Tressan, Japanese porcelain was imitating Chinese models, while Japanese stoneware was original (De Tressan, *Notes sur l'art japonais*, Paris: Mercure de France, 1905).	Paris
Emile Vial (1833-1917)	The pharmacist, inventor, and art collector Vial collected a wide range of Japanese ceramics, part of which he donated to Sèvres. He was connected with Louis Gonse and a friend and patron of the Paris-based Dutch painter Johan-Barthold Jongkind (1819 - 1891). (Vial collection catalogue, Sèvres Museum archives; G. Devaux, "Fragments of a Correspondence Between the Parisian Pharmacist Emile Vial and the Dutch Painter Johan-Barthold Jongkind," 2016)	Paris
Johan-Barthold Jongkind (1819-1891)	Well-regarded and well-connected in academic and Impressionist circles, the painter Jongkind was aware of Japanese and japoniste ceramics in Paris. His friend and patron, the pharmacist and philosopher Emile Vial, was a major collector of Japanese ceramics. Also, Jongkind studied with Eugène Isabey, the son of painter and miniaturist Jean-Baptiste Isabey and the cousin of Edmond Taigny, art historian and collector of Japanese ceramics.	Paris, The Hague
Ferdinando Meazza (1837-1913)	The dealer and collector Meazza was active in Milan and occasionally in Paris. To Henri Cernuschi, in 1875, Meazza sold many Japanese ceramics – the majority in Cernuschi's collection. (Philippe Burty, "La Poterie au Japon," Le Japon artistique, vol. II, n° 17, 1889, 55.)	Milan; traveled to Paris, where he sold and bought ceramics
Ecole Dubouché (est. 1868)	The school established by Adrien Dubouché in Limoges connected the ceramic tradition of Limoges with the newest experiments in ceramic art, especially as fueled by the emulation of Japanese motifs and aesthetic principles.	Limoges
Etienne	Camille Moreau-Nélaton's son, the painter, ceramist,	Paris

Moreau-Nélaton (1859-1927)	art historian, and art collector Etienne studied ceramics with his mother, who passed on her engagement with Japanese motifs and to whom he dedicated a monographic study. (Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Camille Moreau: peintre et céramiste*, Paris, 1899.)	
Jean Pouyat manufactory	A manufactory with a long tradition in Limoges, Jean Pouyat (bearing the name of its founder) produced japoniste tableware from the 1870s to the 1900s, similar in design and motifs to the Bracquemond-Rousseau service and the tableware produced by Haviland & Co. A large portion of Pouyat ceramics was exported to the U.S. ("Service torse," manufacture Pouyat, 1878; *American Notes and Queries*, vol. 4, April 26, 1890, p. 306.)	Limoges
Auguste Bing (1852-1918)	Auguste was the brother of Siegfried Bing, dealer and collector of Japanese ceramics. Based in Tokyo, Auguste was a major source of information and objects for Siegfried. He led the Yokohama/ Tokyo branch of S. Bing & Co. (Gabriel Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris Style 1900*, Smithsonian Institution, 1986).	Yokohama (Tokyo)
Jacob Bing (1798-1868)	Jacob was the father of August and Siegfried Bing. Running a porcelain manufacturing business, Jacob's professional activity played a major role in his son Siegfried's career. (Gabriel Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris Style 1900*, Smithsonian Institution, 1986).	Hamburg

Table 6. Chronological list of some of the most influential late nineteenth-century accounts of Japanese arts in Japan and the Euro-American world (especially France, England, and the United States).

Author	Title	Year
Ninagawa Noritane	*Kanko zusetsu* 観古図説	1876-1878 (translated into French and English, 1870s-1900s)
Rutherford Alcock	*Art and Art Industries in Japan*	1878
Louis Gonse	*L'art japonais*	1883 (translated into Japanese and English, 1890s)
William Anderson	*Pictorial Arts of Japan*	1886 (translated into Japanese, 1890s)
William Anderson	*Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*	1886
Ernest Hart	*Lectures of Japanese Art Work*	1887
Siegfried Bing	*Le Japon artistique*	1888 (translated into English, 1880s-1890s)
Ryōetsu Kohitsu and Kanō Toshinobu Sosen	*Honchō gaka jinmei jisho* 本朝画家人名辭書	1893
Commission imperiale du Japon/ Hayashi Tadamasa	*Histoire de l'art du Japon*	1900 (translated into Japanese, 1900s)
Ernest Fenollosa	*Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*	1907 (translated into French, 1910s)



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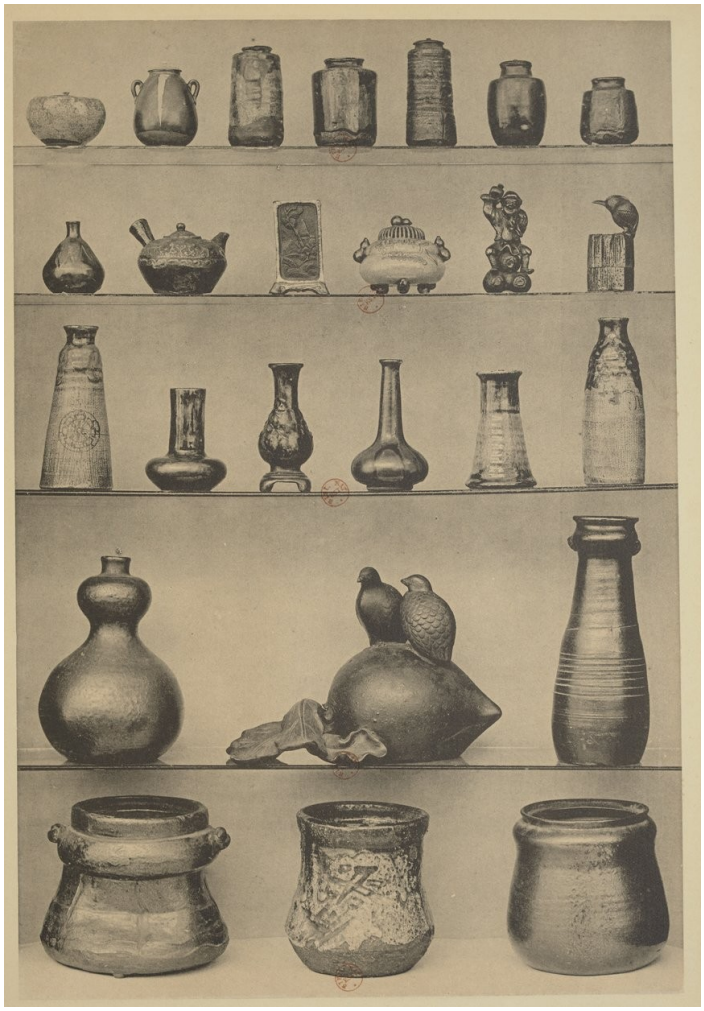

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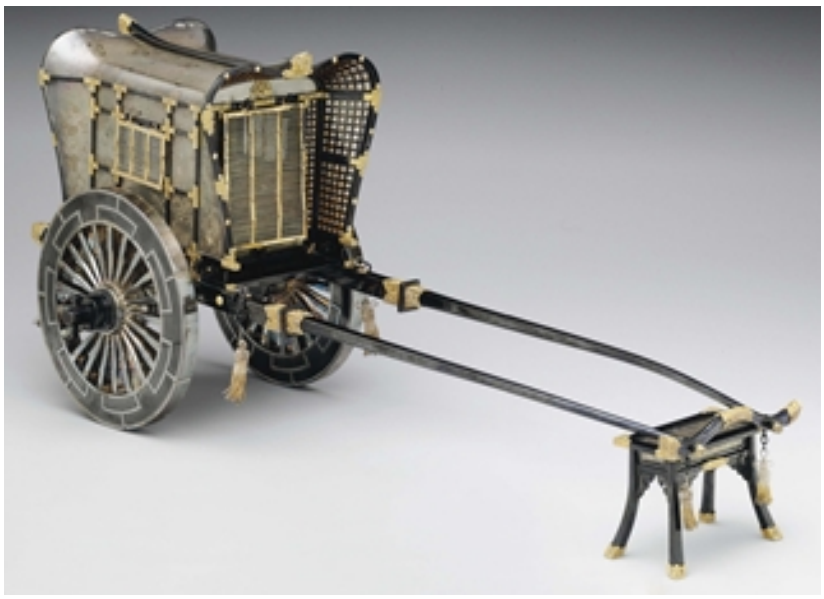

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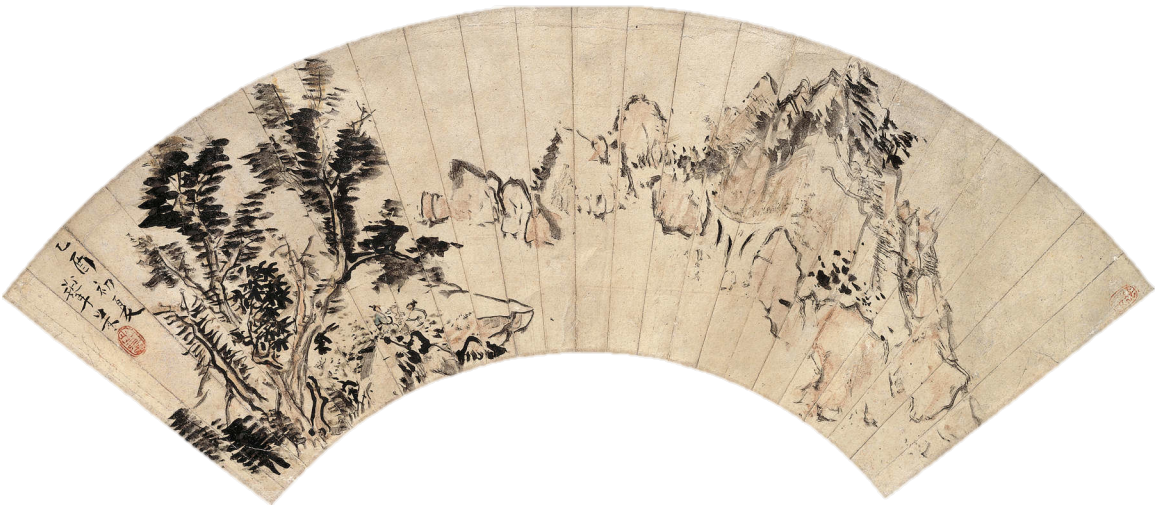

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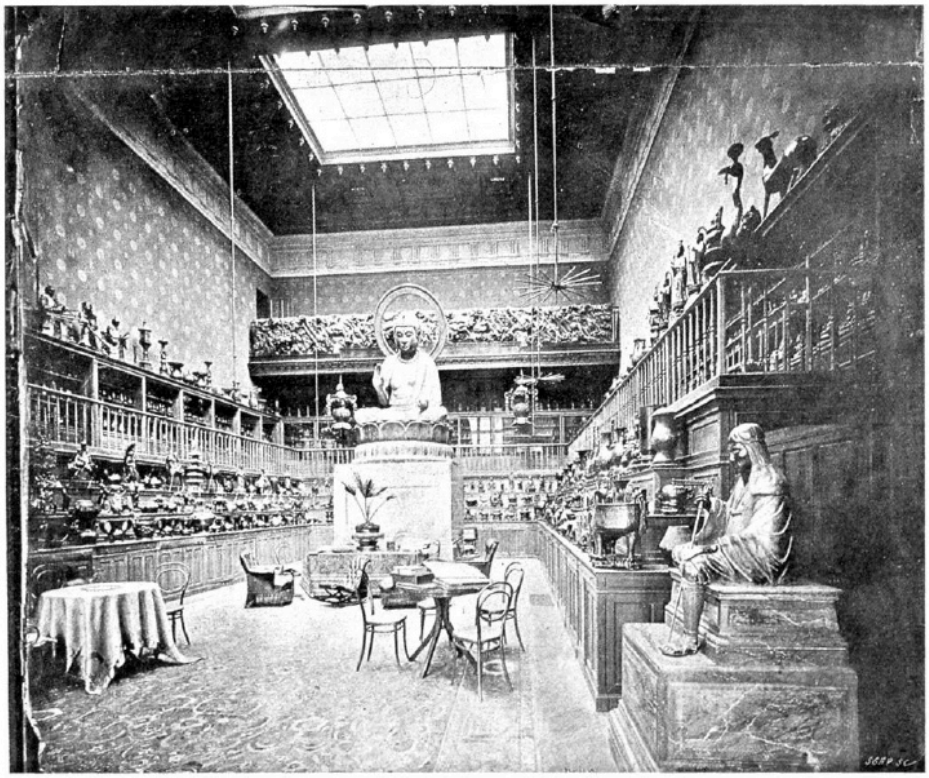

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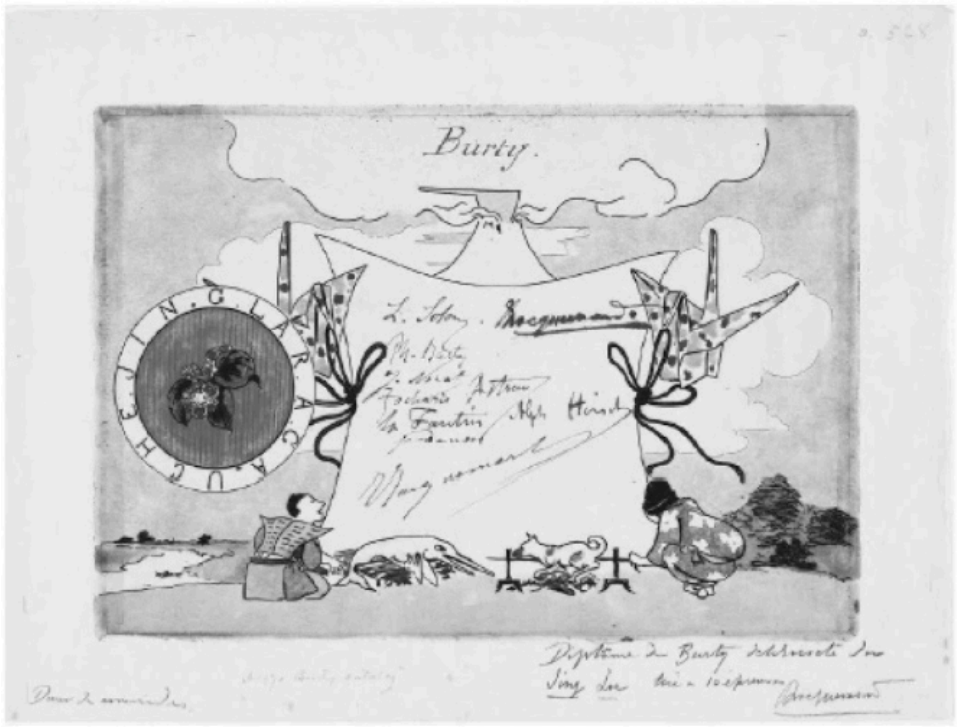

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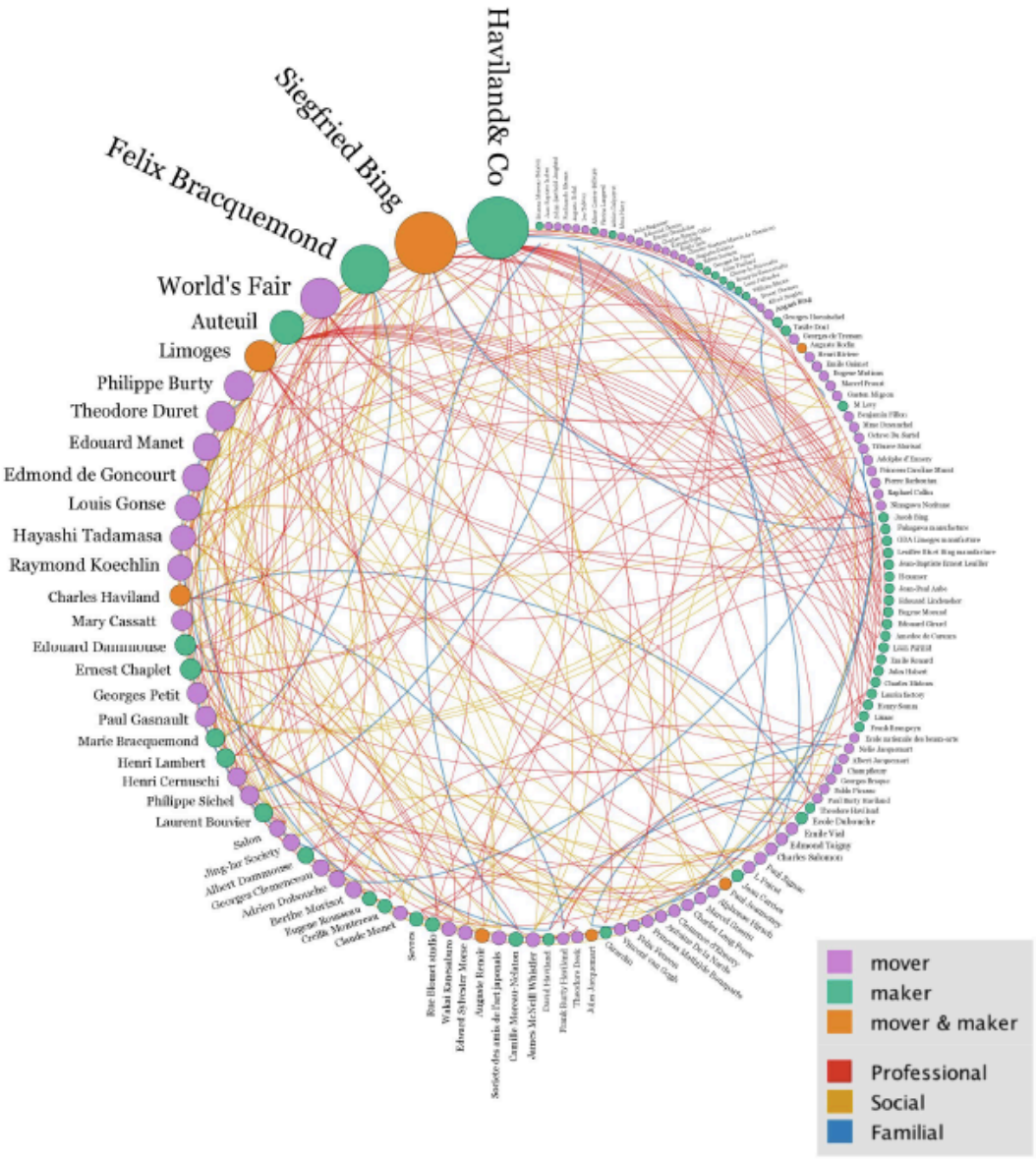
Havilland& Co
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Felix Bracquemond
World's Fair
Auteuil
Limoges
Philippe Burty
Theodore Duret
Edouard Manet
Edmond de Goncourt
Louis Gonse
Hayashi Tadamasa
Raymond Koechlin
Charles Haviland
Mary Cassatt
Edouard Dammouse
Ernest Chaplet
Georges Petit
Paul Gasnault
Marie Bracquemond
Henri Lambert
Henri Cernuschi
Philippe Sichel
Laurent Bouvier
Salon
Jing-lay Society
Albert Dammouse
Georges Clemenceau
Adrien Dubouche
Berthe Morisot
Eugene Rousseau
Cecile Monteyrard
Claude Monet
Sevres
Rue Blomet studio
Wakai Kansaikan
Edward Sylvester Morse
Auguste Rodin
Societe des amis de l'art japonais
Camille Marcou Nolatien
James McNeill Whistler
David Haviland
Frank Burty Haviland
Theodore Duret
Jules Aergamont
Osterlin
Vincent van Gogh
Jeanne De la Nairie
Caroline Lang Perre
Marcel Guerin
Alphonse Hayem
Paul Jacquemyn
L'Estoile
Louis Cattien
Paul Signac
Charles Salomon
Emile Viel
Edmond Taigny
Ecole Dubouche
Theodore Haviland
Paul Burty Haviland
Georges Braque
Albert Jacquemart
Nelie Jacquemart
Ecole nationale des beaux-arts
French Rosegers
Henry Soura
Emily Soura
Louis Lucien Factory
Charles Hiktom
Jules Hukot
Jean Jacques Le Rouard
Edouard Girard
Regene Monrad
Edouard Lockroher
Jean-Paul Aube
Adolphe d' Ennery
Tiburce Marmat
Orfeuil Du Sartel
M Levy
Marcel Proust
Regene Mathieu
Emile Guimet
Georges de Tremais
Emile Dacl
Georges Thereubichel
Jacob Ding
Raphael Collin
Pierre Berbeuton
Princess Caroline Murat
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Auguste Rodin
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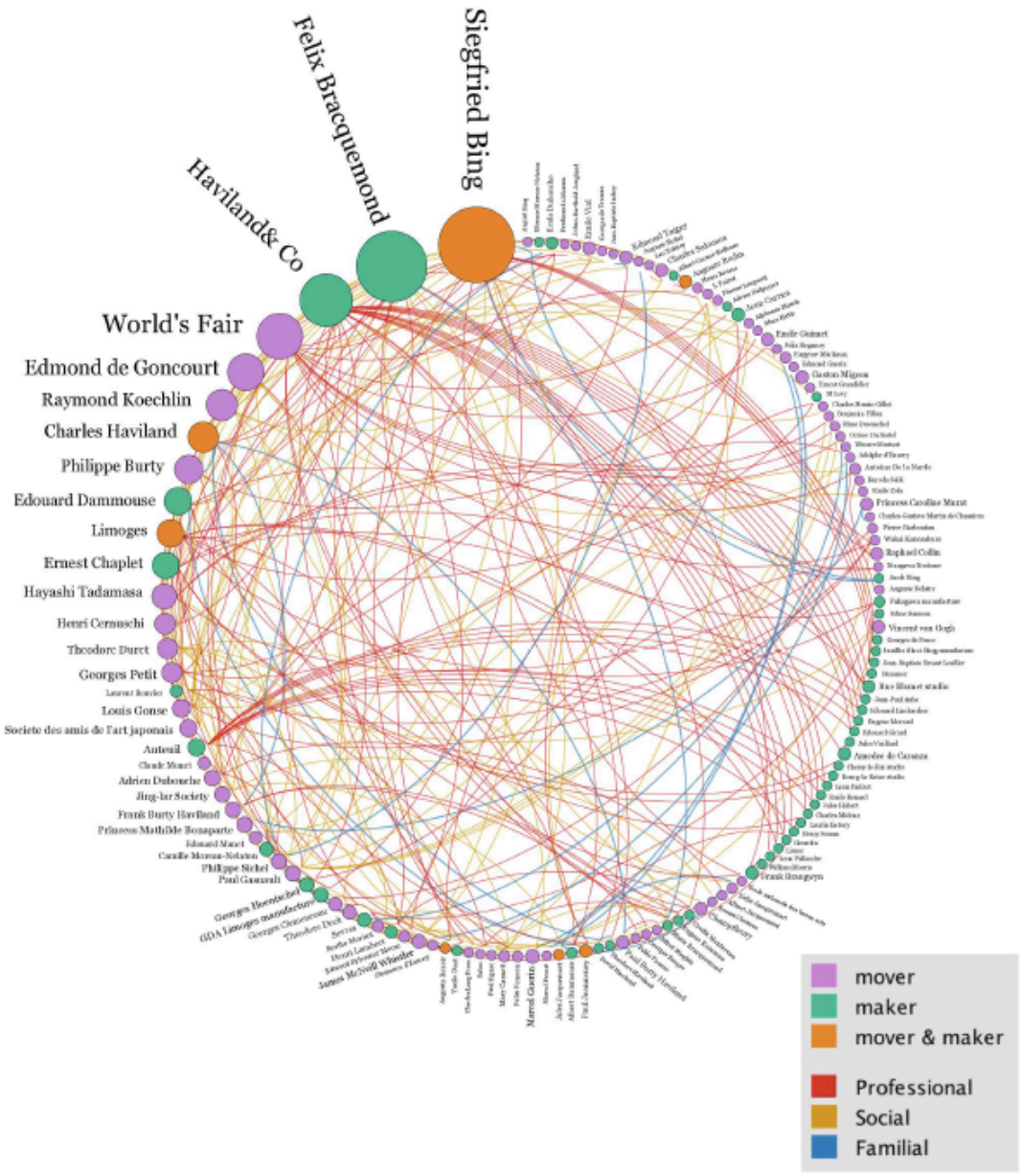
Figure 43.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Claude Monet
Adrien Dubouche
Jing-lar Society
Frank Burty Haviland
Princess Mathilde Bonaparte
Edouard Manet
Camille Moreau-Nelaton
Philippe Sichel
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GDA Limoges manufacture
Georges Clemenceau
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James McNeill Whistler
Clemence Fleury
Marcel Guerin
Emile Guimet
Gaston Migeon
Princess Caroline Murat
Raphael Collin
Vincent van Gogh
Rue Blomet studio
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Frank Brangwyn
mover
maker
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Professional
Social
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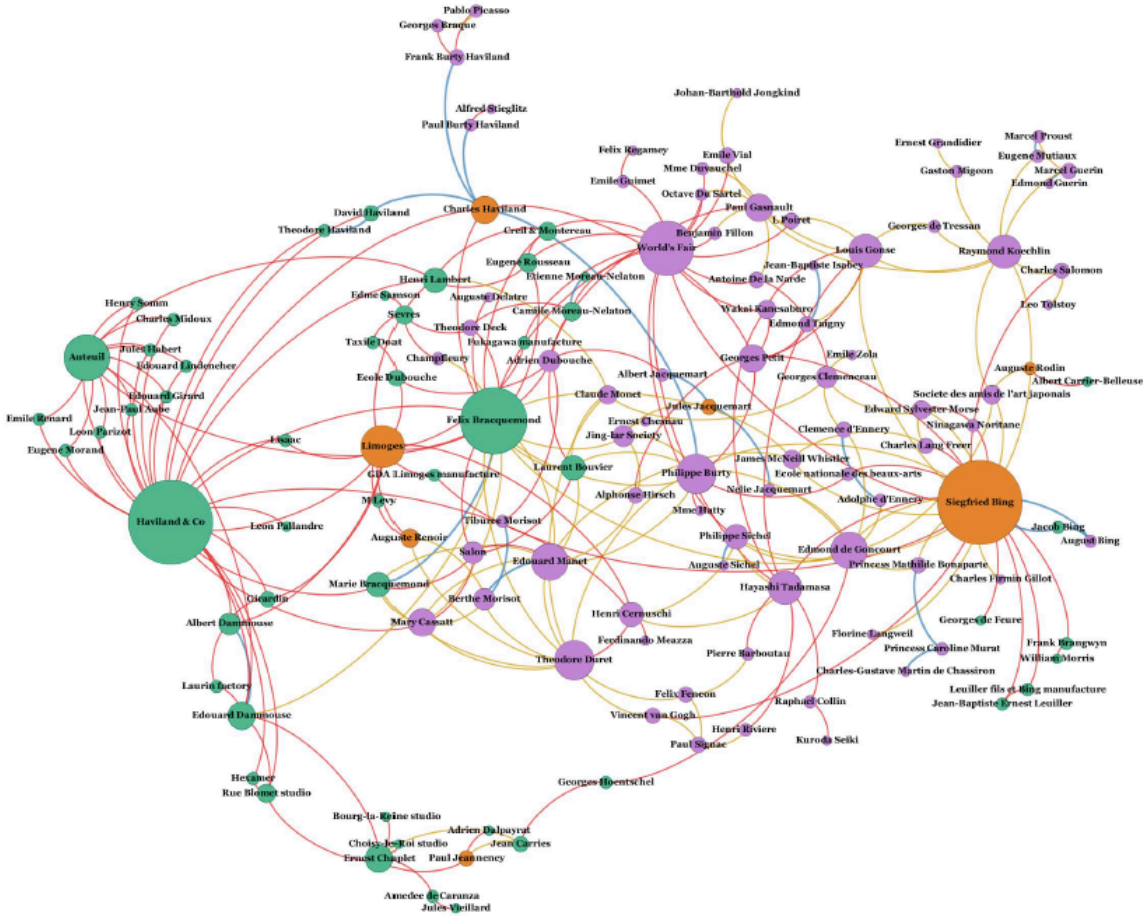
Figure 44.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Johan-Barthold Jongkind
Felix Regamey
Emile Vial
Mme Duvauchel
Emile Guimet
Octave Du Sartel
Paul Gasnault
J. Poiret
Ernest Grandidier
Marcel Proust
Eugene Mutiaux
Gaston Migeon
Marcel Guerin
Edmond Guerin
David Haviland
Theodore Haviland
Charles Haviland
Creil & Montereau
Benjamin Fillon
World's Fair
Louis Gonse
Georges de Tressan
Raymond Koechlin
Eugene Rousseau
Etienne Moreau-Nelaton
Jean-Baptiste Isabey
Anselme De La Narde
Charles Salomon
Henri Lambert
Edme Samson
Auguste Delatre
Camille Moreau-Nelaton
Wakai Kansaburo
Edmond Taigny
Leo Tolstoy
Henry Somm
Charles Mideux
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Theodore Deck
Taxile Doat
Pukagawa manufacture
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Champ Fleury
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Albert Jacquemart
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Ninagawa Noritane
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Adolphe d'Ennery
Siegfried Bing
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Mme Hatty
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Jacob Bing
August Bing
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George de Feure
Ferdinando Meazza
Florine Langweil
Frank Brangwyn
Princess Caroline Murat
Pierre Barboutau
Theodore Duret
William Morris
Charles-Gustave Martin de Chassiron
Laurin Tuctory
Felix Feneon
Leuiller fils et Bing manufacture
Edouard Dammouse
Raphael Collin
Jean-Baptiste Ernest Leuiller
Vincent van Gogh
Henri Riviere
Kuroda Seiki
Paul Signac
Hecanet
Rue Blomet studio
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Bourg-la-Reine studio
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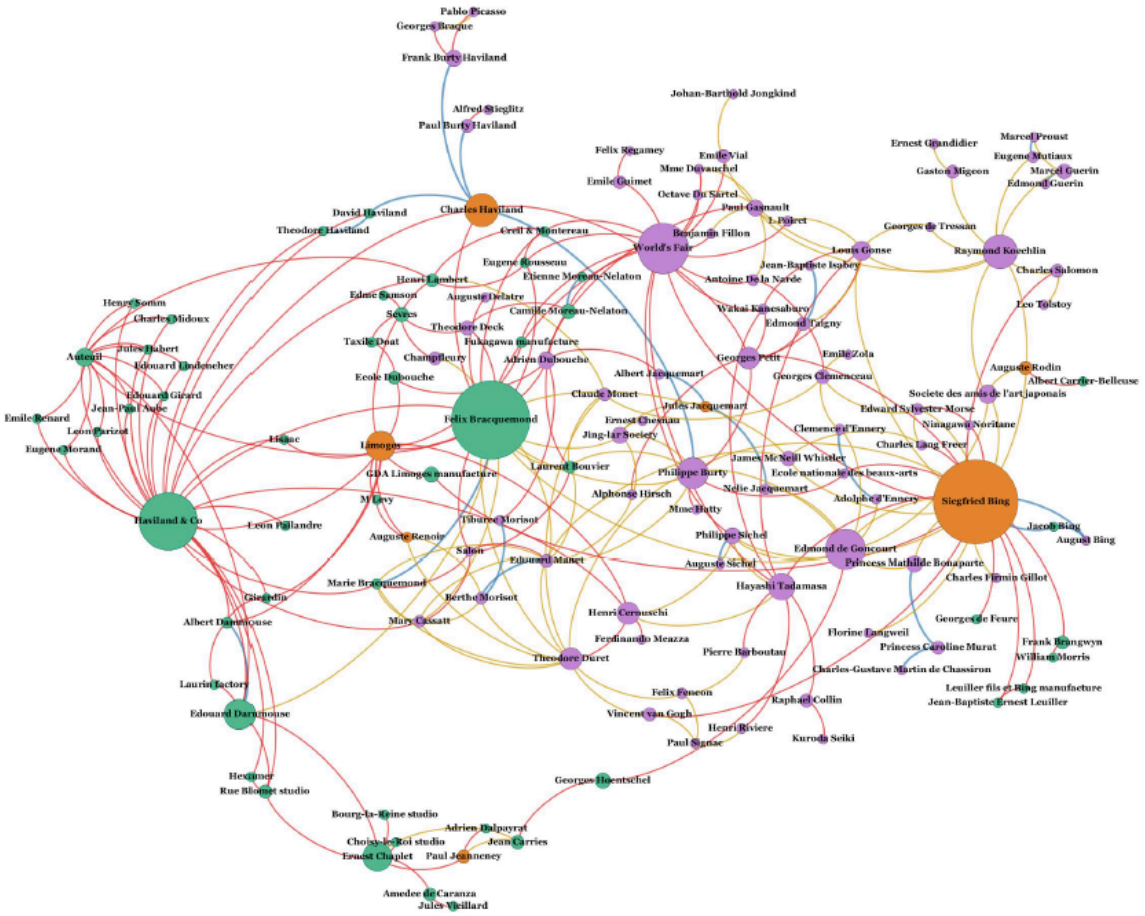
Jules Vieillard

Figure 45.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Emile Guimet
Octave Du Sartel
Paul Gasnault
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Ernest Grandidier
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Gaston Migeon
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Henri Lambert
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Edmond Taigny
Leo Tolstoy
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Theodore Deck
Taxile Doat
Fukagawa manufacture
Jules Habert
Auteuil
Edouard Lindenscher
Champfleury
Adrien Dubouche
Georges Petit
Emile Zola
Auguste Rodin
Ecole Bolbouche
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Clemence d'Ennery
Limoges
Jing-lar Society
Charles Lang Freer
Eugene Morand
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James McNeill Whistler
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Ecole nationale des beaux-arts
M Levy
Alphonse Hirsch
Nelie Jacquemart
Adolphe d'Ennery
Siegfried Bing
Haviland & Co
Leon Pallandre
Tiburce Morisot
Mme Hatty
Jacob Bing
Auguste Renoir
Philippe Sichel
August Bing
Salon
Edmond de Goncourt
Edouard Manet
Auguste Sichel
Princess Mathilde Bonaparte
Marie Bracquemond
Hayashi Tadamasa
Charles Firmin Gillot
Gieseldin
Berthe Morisot
Henri Cerouschi
Georges de Feure
Albert Dammouse
Mary Cassatt
Florine Langweil
Ferdinando Meazza
Princess Caroline Murat
Frank Brangwyn
Pierre Barboutau
William Morris
Theodore Duret
Charles-Gustave Martin de Chassiron
Laurin factory
Leuiller fils et Bing manufacture
Felix Foncon
Jean-Baptiste Ernest Leuiller
Edouard Daumouse
Raphael Collin
Vincent van Gogh
Henri Riviere
Kuroda Seiki
Paul Signac
Hexamer
Georges Hoentschel
Rue Blomet studio
Bourg-La-Reine studio
Adrien Dalpayrat
Choisy-le-Roi studio
Jean Carries
Ernest Chaplet
Paul Jeanneney
Amedee de Caranza
Jules Vieillard

Figure 46.

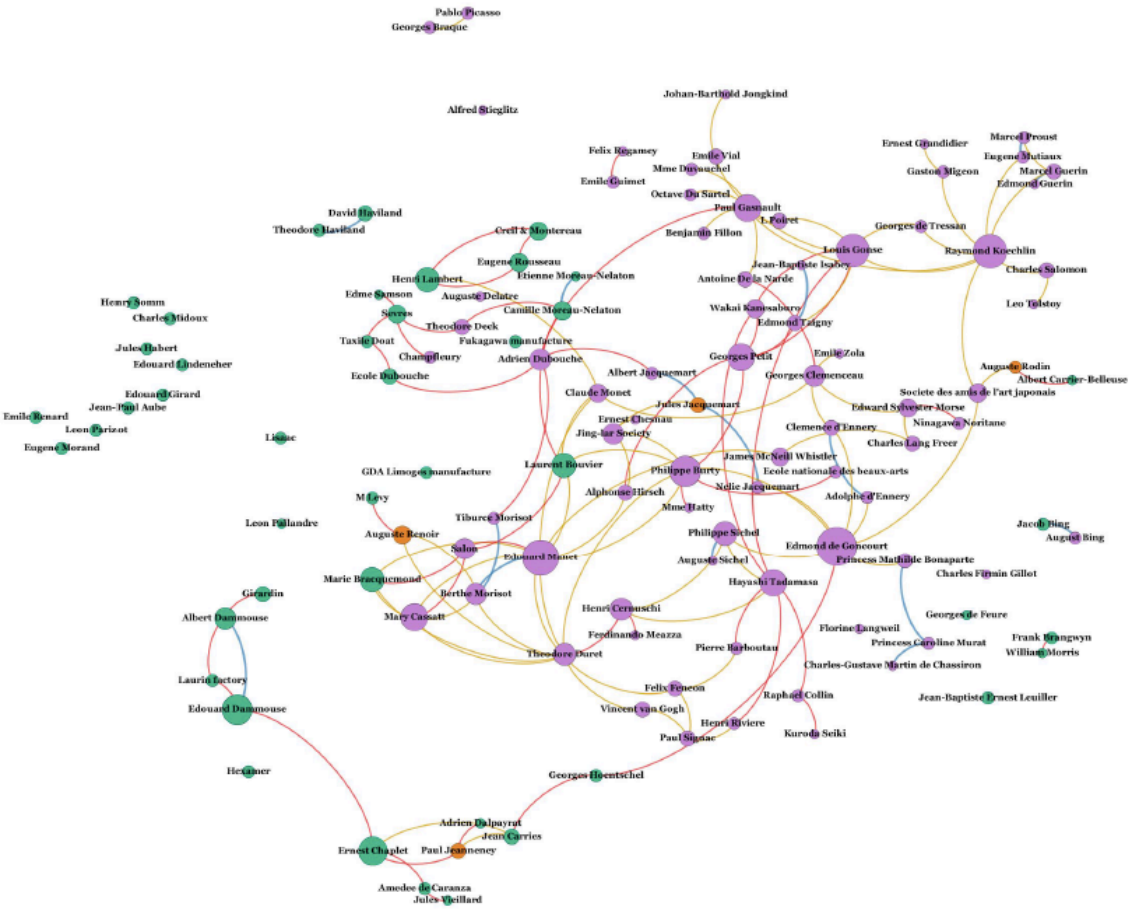
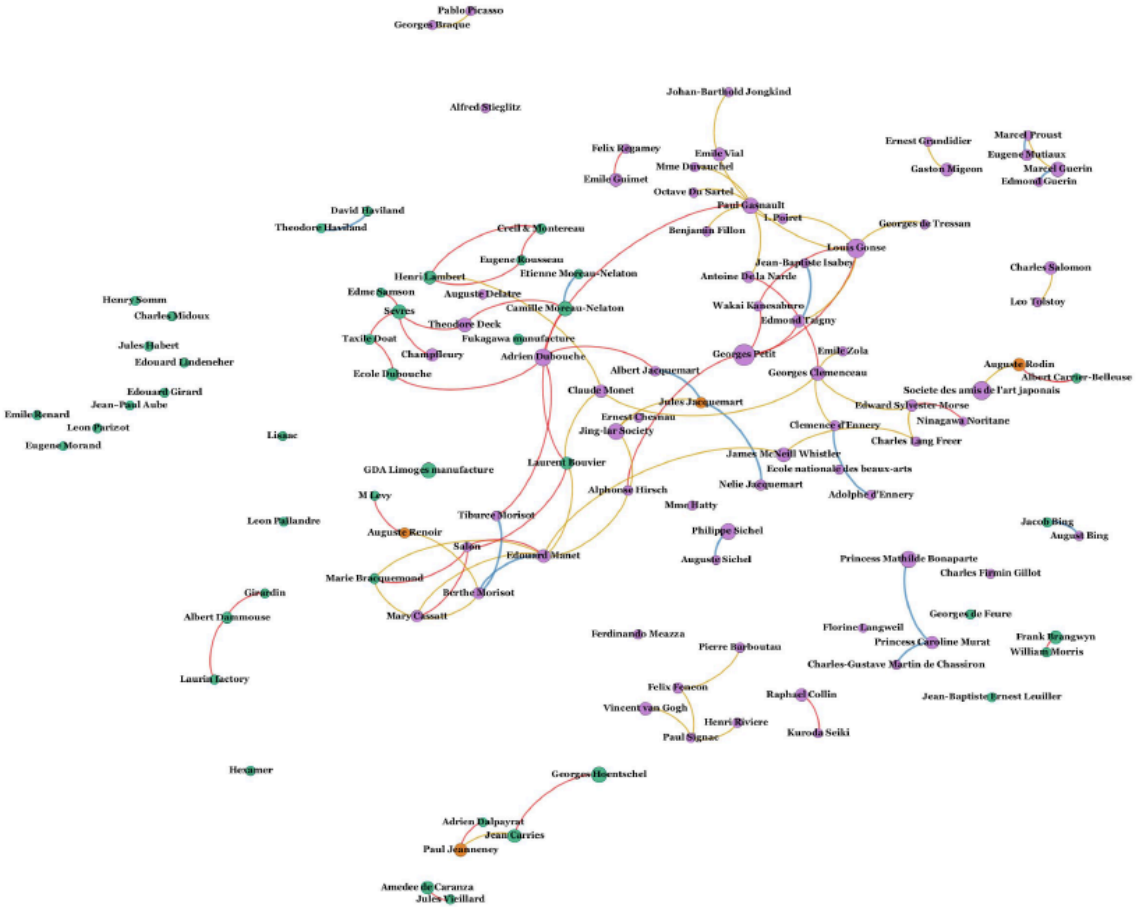

Pablo Picasso
Georges Braque
Alfred Stieglitz
Johan-Barthold Jongkind
Felix Regamey
Emile Vial
Mme Dusouchel
Emile Guimet
Octave Du Sartel
Paul Gassault
L.Poiret
Benjamin Fillon
Ernest Grandidier
Marcel Proust
Eugene Mutiaux
Gaston Migeon
Marcel Guerin
Edmond Guerin
Georges de Tressan
Louis Gonse
Raymond Koechlin
Jean-Baptiste Isabey
Antoine De la Narde
Charles Salomon
Leo Tolstoy
Wakai Kanesaburo
Edmond Taigny
David Haviland
Theodore Haviland
Creil & Montereau
Eugene Rousseau
Henri Lambert
Etienne Morgan-Nelaton
Edme Samson
Auguste Delatre
Camille Moreau-Nelaton
Sevres
Theodore Deck
Taxile Doat
Fukagawa manufacture
Champfleury
Adrien Dubouche
Ecole Dubouche
Henry Somm
Charles Midoux
Jules Habert
Edouard Lindeneher
Edouard Girard
Jean-Paul Aube
Emile Renard
Leon Parizot
Eugene Morand
Lisiac
Georges Petit
Emile Zola
Albert Jacquemart
Georges Clemenceau
Auguste Rodin
Albert Carrier-Belleuse
Claude Monet
Jules Jacquemart
Societe des amis de l'art japonais
Edward Sylvester Morse
Ernest Chesnau
Clemence d'Ennery
Ninagawa Noritane
Jing-lar Society
Charles Lang Freer
James McNeill Whistler
Ecole nationale des beaux-arts
Laurent Bouvier
Philippe Burty
Nelie Jacquemart
GDA Limoges manufacture
Alphonse Hirsch
Adolphe d'Ennery
M Levy
Mme Hatty
Tiburce Morisot
Leon Poilandre
Philippe Sichel
Jacob Bing
August Bing
Auguste Renoir
Salon
Edouard Manet
Edmond de Goncourt
Princess Mathilde Bonaparte
Augustin Sichel
Charles Firmin Gillot
Marie Bracquemond
Hayashi Tadamasa
Berthe Morisot
Girardin
Albert Dammouse
Mary Cassatt
Henri Cernuschi
Georges de Feure
Florine Langweil
Ferdinando Meazza
Princess Caroline Murat
Frank Brangwyn
William Morris
Pierre Barboutau
Theodore Duret
Charles-Gustave Martin de Chassiron
Laurin Factory
Felix Feneon
Raphael Collin
Jean-Baptiste Ernest Leuiller
Edouard Dammouse
Vincent van Gogh
Henri Riviere
Kuroda Seiki
Paul Signac
Georges Hoentschel
Adrien Dalpayrat
Jean Carries
Ernest Chaplet
Paul Jeanneney
Amedee de Caranza
Jules Vieillard

Figure 47.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Georges Braque
Alfred Stieglitz
Johan-Barthold Jongkind
Felix Regamey
Emile Vial
Mme Desvauchel
Emile Guimet
Octave Du Sartel
Ernest Grandidier
Marcel Proust
Eugene Mutiaux
Gaston Migeon
Marcel Guerin
Edmond Guerin
David Haviland
Theodore Haviland
Paul Gasnault
L. Poiret
Benjamin Fillon
Georges de Tressan
Louis Gonse
Creil & Montereau
Eugene Rousseau
Henri Lambert
Etienne Moreau-Nelaton
Jean-Baptiste Isabey
Antoine De la Narde
Charles Salomon
Leo Tolstoy
Henry Somm
Charles Midoux
Edme Samson
Auguste Delatre
Camille Moreau-Nelaton
Wakai Kanesaburo
Edmond Tagny
Sevres
Theodore Deck
Taxile Doat
Fukagawa manufacture
Champfleury
Adrien Dubouche
Georges Petit
Emile Zola
Ecole Dubouche
Albert Jacquemart
Georges Clemenceau
Auguste Rodin
Albert Carrier-Belleuse
Jules Hubert
Edouard Lindencher
Edouard Girard
Jean-Paul Aube
Emile Renard
Leon Parizot
Eugene Morand
Claude Monet
Societe des amis de l'art japonais
Edward Sylvester Morse
Ernest Chesneau
Jing-lei Society
Clemence d'Ennery
Ninagawa Noritane
Charles Lang Freer
Licinc
James McNeill Whistler
Ecole nationale des beaux-arts
GDA Limoges manufacture
Laurent Bouvier
Nelie Jacquemart
Adolphe d'Ennery
M Davy
Alphonse Hirsch
Mme Hatty
Tiburce Morisot
Leon Paulandre
Philippe Sichel
Jacob Bing
August Bing
Auguste Renoir
Salon
Edouard Manet
Auguste Sichel
Princess Mathilde Bonaparte
Charles Flemin Gillot
Marie Bracquemond
Berthe Morisot
Girardin
Mary Cassatt
Georges de Feure
Albert Dammouse
Ferdinando Meazza
Florine Langweil
Frank Brangwyn
Princess Caroline Murat
Pierre Barboutau
William Morris
Charles-Gustave Martin de Chassiron
Lauria Factory
Felix Feneon
Raphael Collin
Jean-Baptiste Ernest Leuiller
Vincent van Gogh
Henri Riviere
Kuroda Seiki
Paul Signac
Hecquet
Georges Hoentschel
Adrien Dalpayrat
Jean Carries
Paul Jeanneney
Amedee de Caranza
Jules Guillard

Figure 48.

Figure 49.

Figure 50.

Figure 51.

Figure 52.

Figure 53.

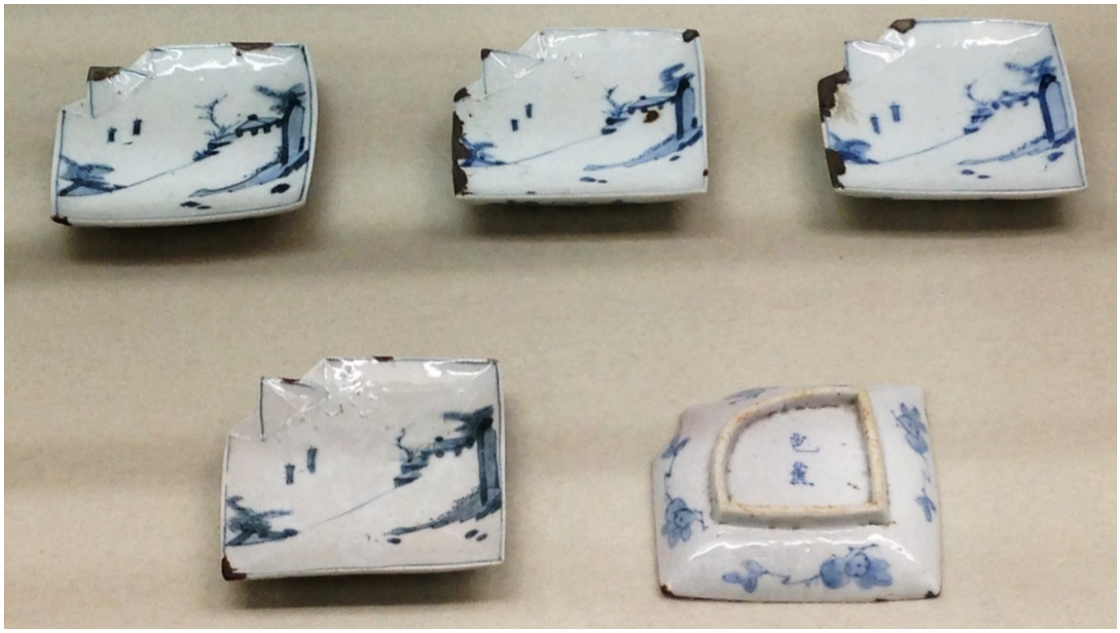

Figure 54.

Figure 55.



Figure 56.


Figure 57.

Figure 58.

Figure 59.

Figure 60.

[Image requested from the Adrien Dubouché Museum, Limoges]
Figure 61.

Figure 62.

Figure 63.

Figure 64.

Figure 65.


Figure 66.

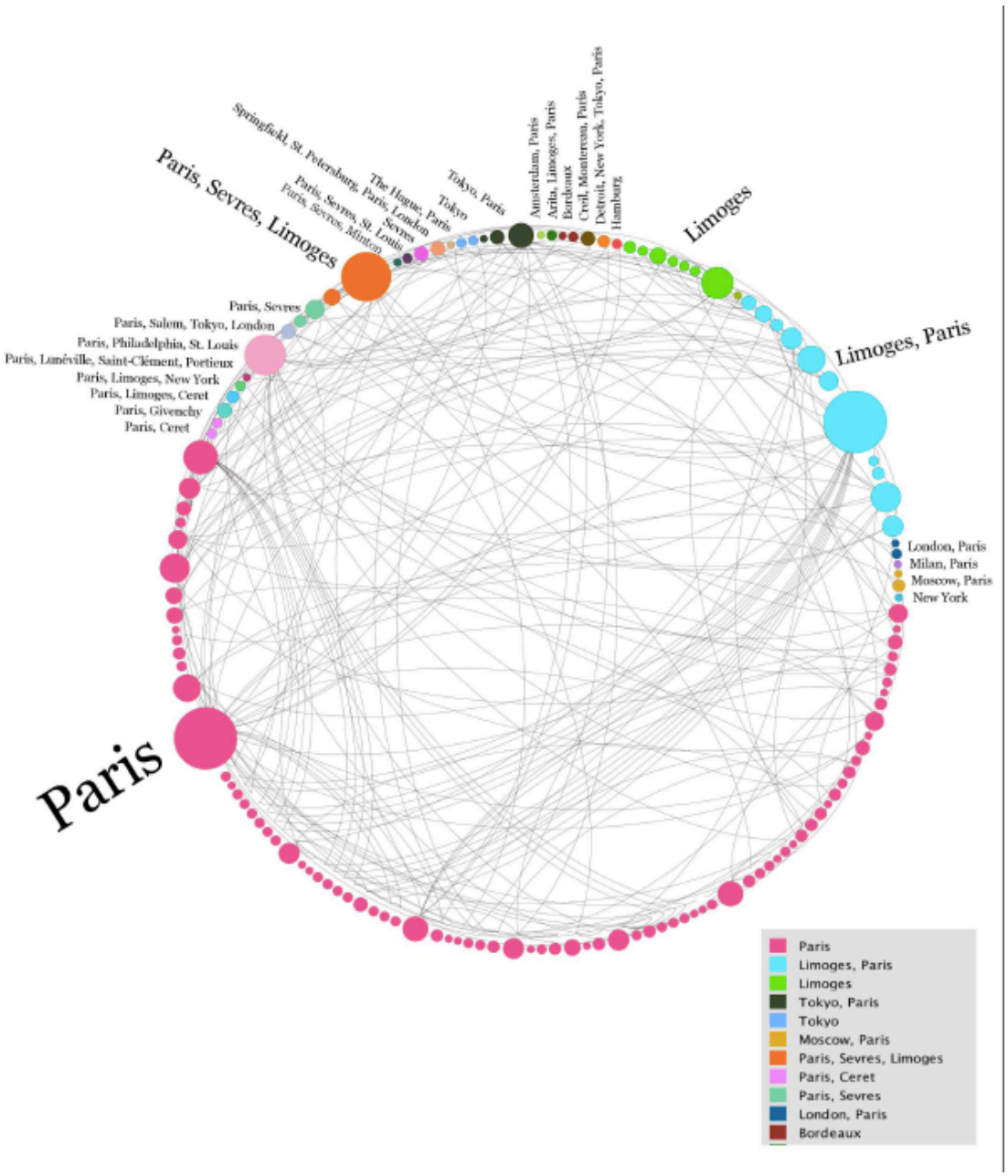
Springfield, St. Petersburg, Paris, London
The Hague, Paris
Tokyo, Paris
Tokyo
Amsterdam, Paris
Arita, Limoges, Paris
Bordeaux
Creil, Montereau, Paris
Detroit, New York, Tokyo, Paris
Hamburg
Paris, Sevres, Limoges
Paris, Sevres, St. Louis
Paris, Sevres, Minton
Limoges
Paris, Sevres
Paris, Salem, Tokyo, London
Paris, Philadelphia, St. Louis
Paris, Luneville, Saint-Clement, Portieux
Paris, Limoges, New York
Paris, Limoges, Ceret
Paris, Givenchy
Paris, Ceret
Limoges, Paris
London, Paris
Milan, Paris
Moscow, Paris
New York
Paris
Paris
Limoges, Paris
Limoges
Tokyo, Paris
Tokyo
Moscow, Paris
Paris, Sevres, Limoges
Paris, Ceret
Paris, Sevres
London, Paris
Bordeaux

Figure 67.

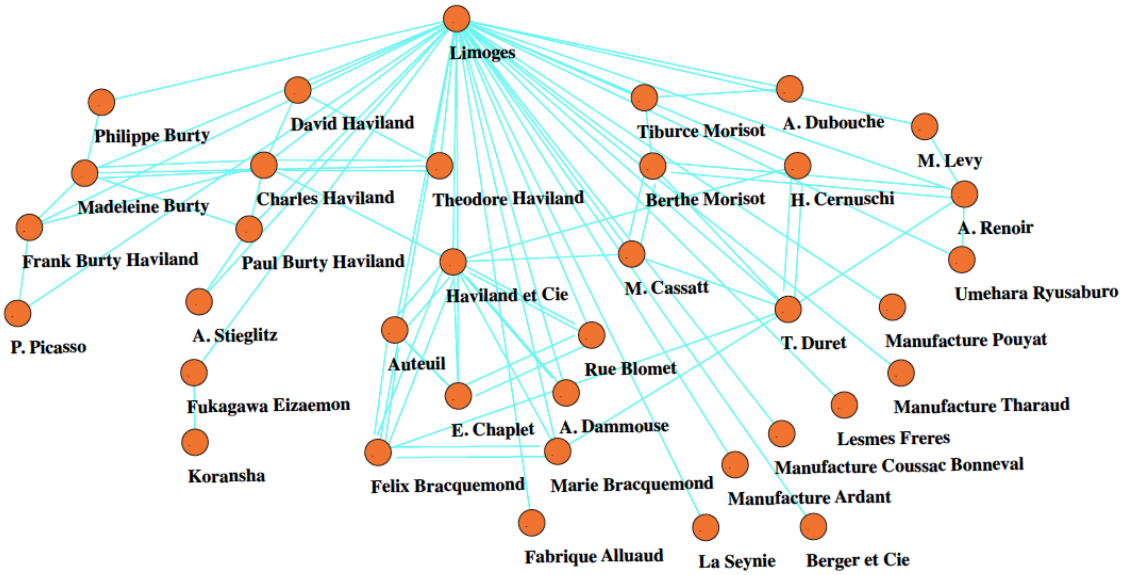

Figure 68.

Figure 69.

Figure 70.

Figure 71.

Figure 72.

Figure 73.

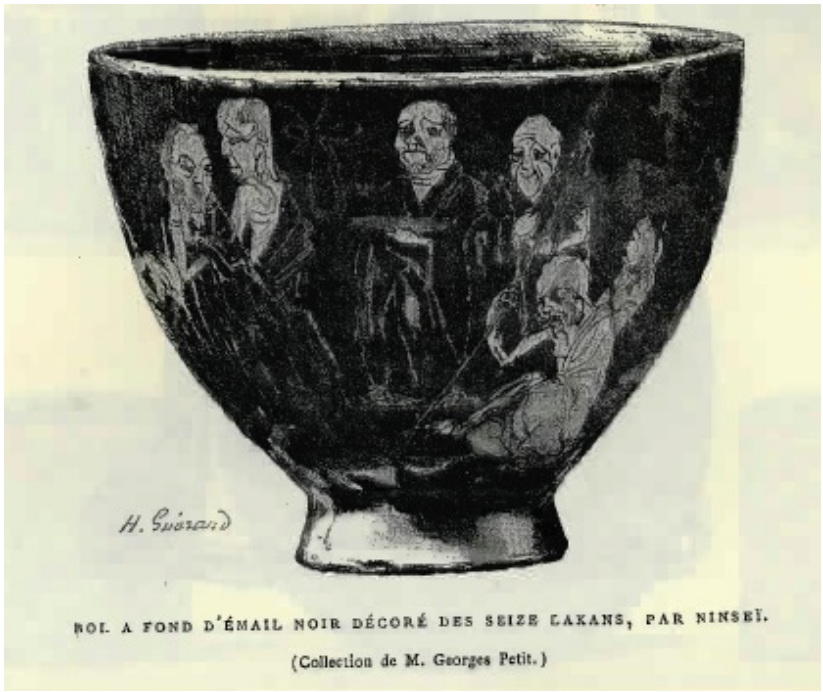

Figure 74.

Figure 75.

Figure 76.

ANCIENNES FABRIQUES DE KIOTO ET DE KOUTANI
Boîtes à parfums, boîte à thé, porte-pinceaux, bouteille à saké, pots à encens, bols à thé
(Pièces de la collection de M. S. Bing)

Figure 77.

Figure 78.

Figure 79.

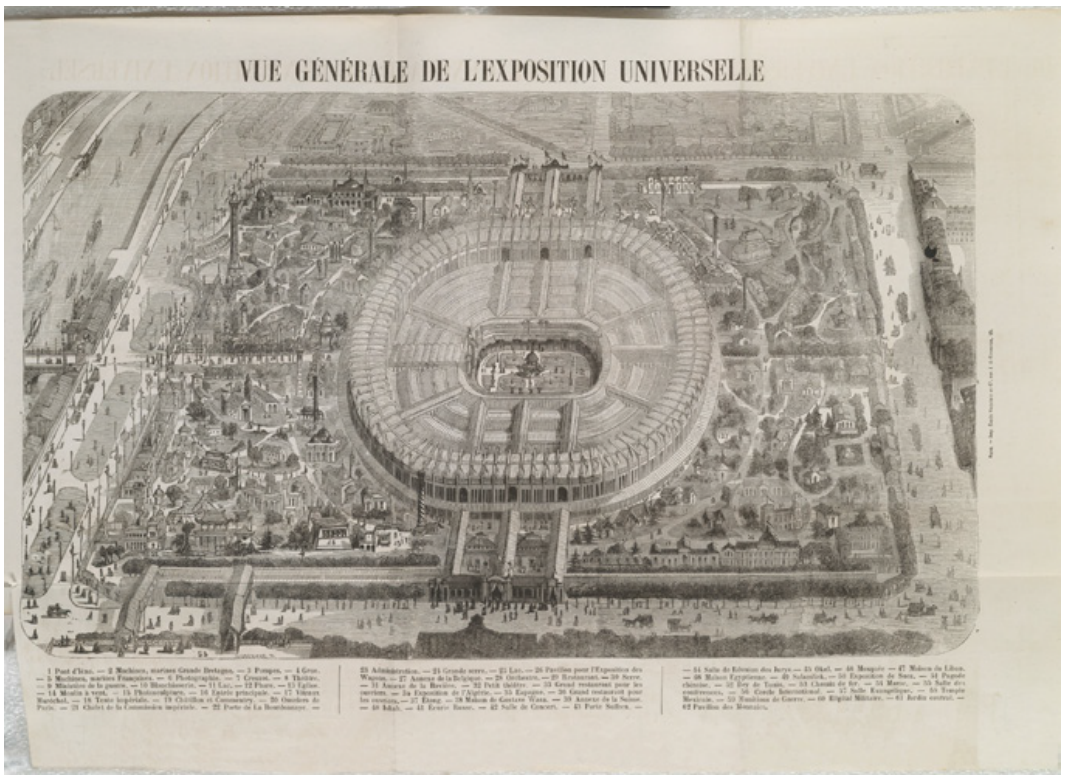

Figure 80.


Figure 81.

Figure 82.

Figure 83.

Figure 84.

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Figure 86.

Figure 87.

Figure 88.

Figure 89.

Figure 90.

Figure 91.

Figure 92.

Figure 93.

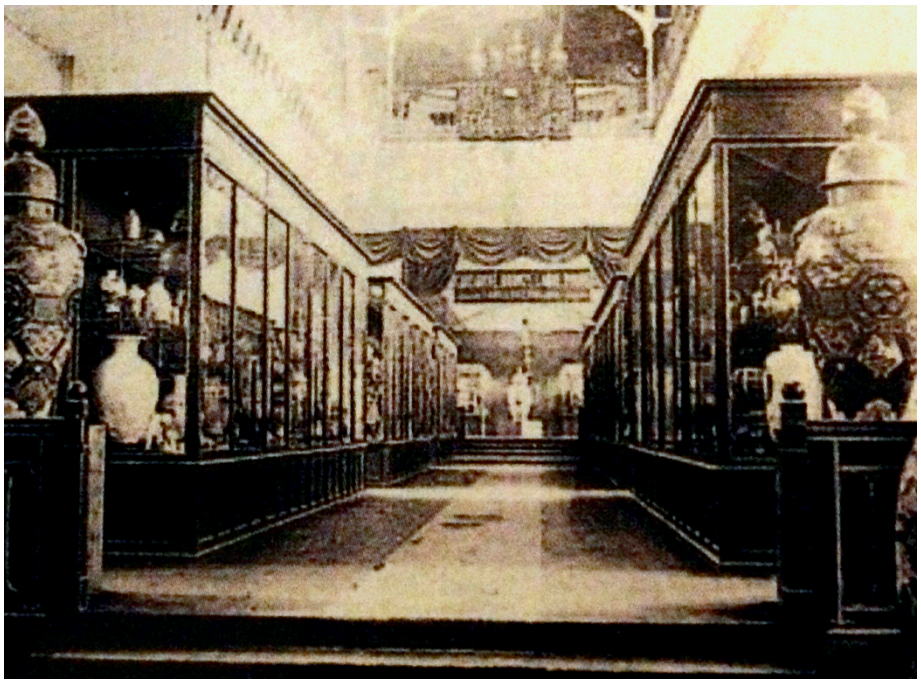

Figure 94.

Figure 95.

Figure 96.

Figure 97.

Figure 98.

Figure 99.

Figure 100.

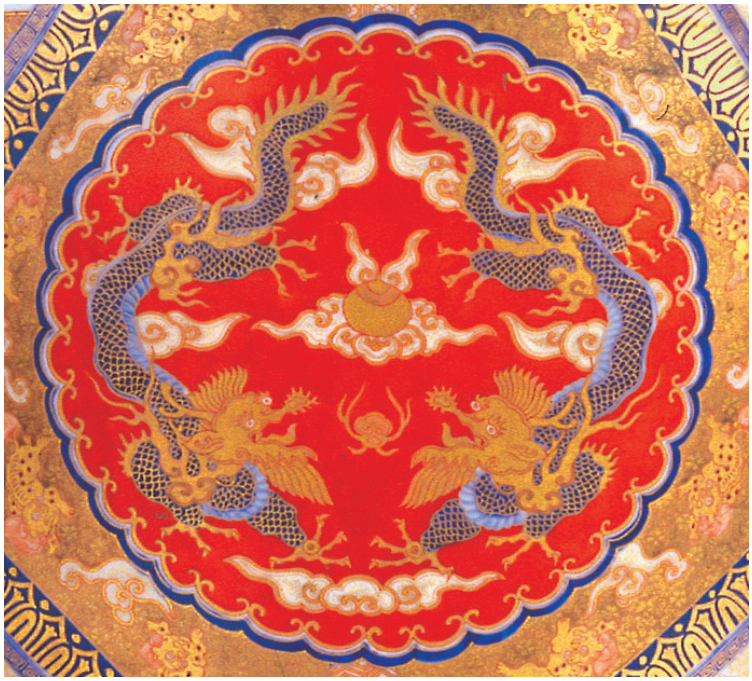

Figure 101.

Figure 102.

Figure 103.

Figure 104.

Figure 105.

Figure 106.

Figure 107.

Figure 108.

Figure 109.

1530. — *Rosetsu*. Une jeune fille accroupie sur le sol pour déplier un rouleau d'écriture. Derrière elle une servante, au type vulgaire, s'approche, un balai à la main. C'est probablement, dans une transposition profane, la légende de Kanzan et Jittokou. Œuvre curieuse et dans une exécution cursive d'une grande puissance de pinceau. Kakémono papier. A gauche, la signature et cachet : *Ghio*. Haut. 1,25; larg. 0,54, XVIII^e^ siècle.

1531. — *Mokoubei* (1800). Peinture représentant des poupées de terre, sous la forme de petits enfants drolatiques. Cinq sont groupés en pyramide, leurs chevelures faisant des boules noires au-dessus des corps rouges et bleus. A côté, quatre autres sont couchés en enfilade sur le ventre.

Cette peinture, la seule de Mokoubei qui soit venue en Europe, trahit bien sa profession de céramiste, non seulement par la nature du sujet, mais plus encore par le caractère extrêmement typique du dessin. Kakémono papier. En haut à droite le cachet *Mokoubei* et deux autres cachets illisibles. Haut. 0,31 ; larg. 0,63.

Figure 110.

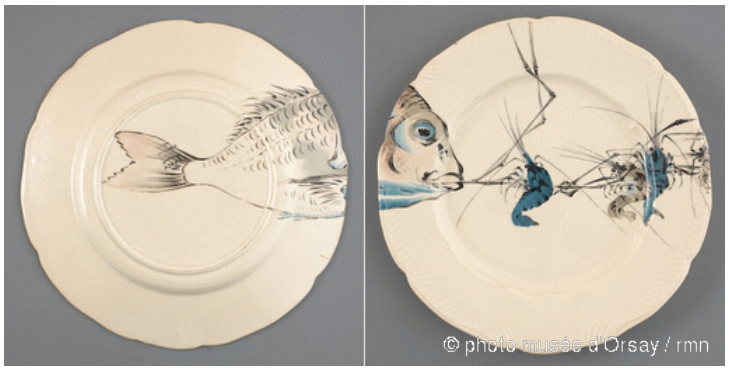

Figure 111.

Figure 112.


Figure 113.

Figure 114.

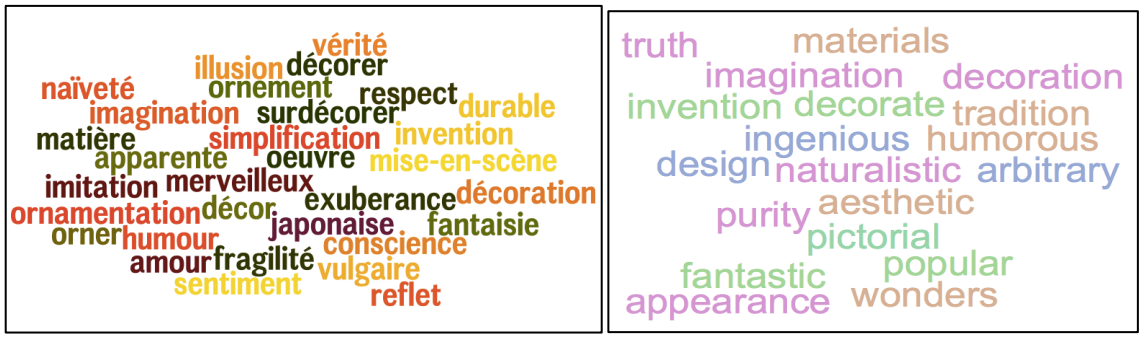

Figure 115.


Figure 116.


Figure 117.

Figure 118.

[Image best viewed on the computer at highest resolution]

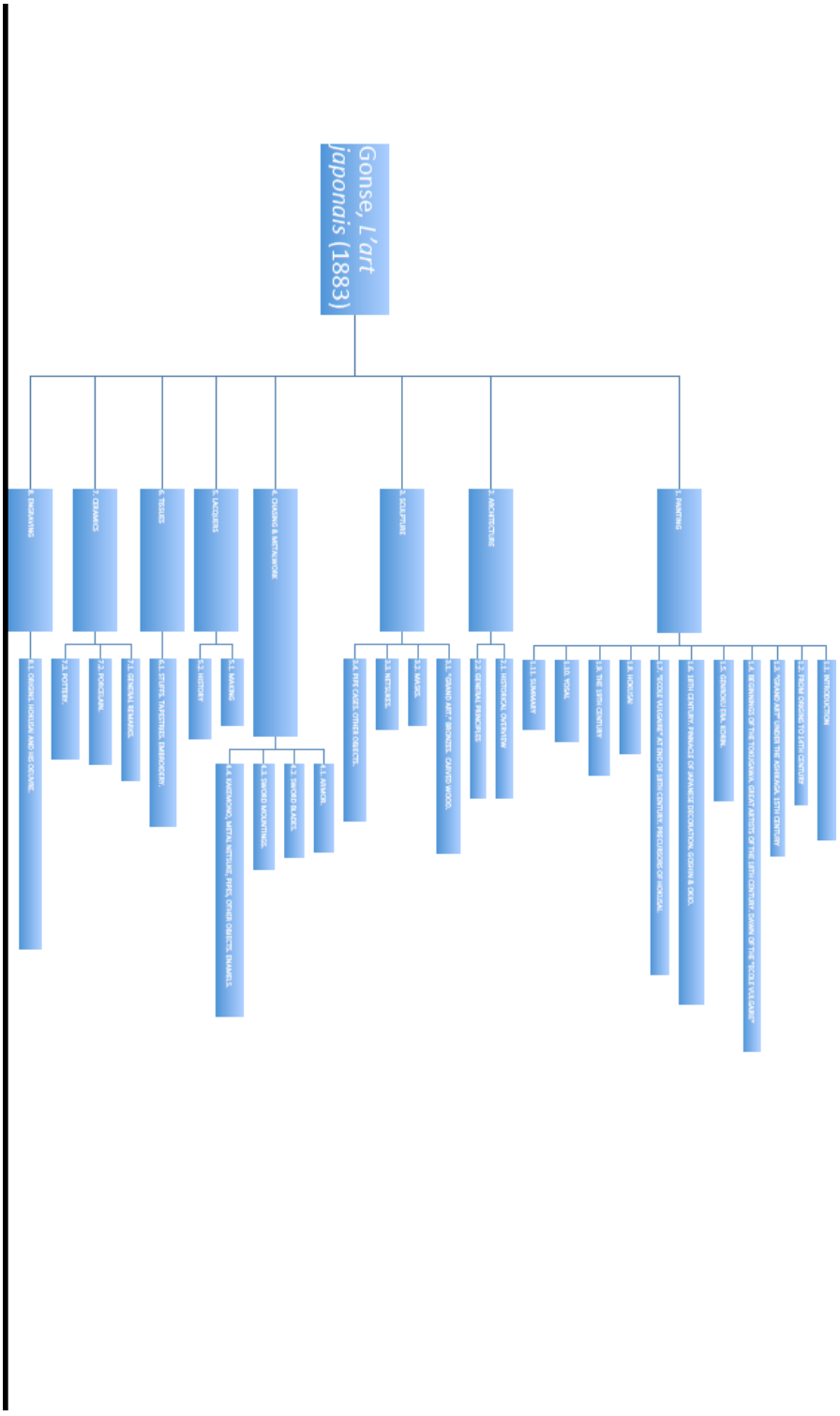

Figure 119.

[Image best viewed on the computer at highest resolution]

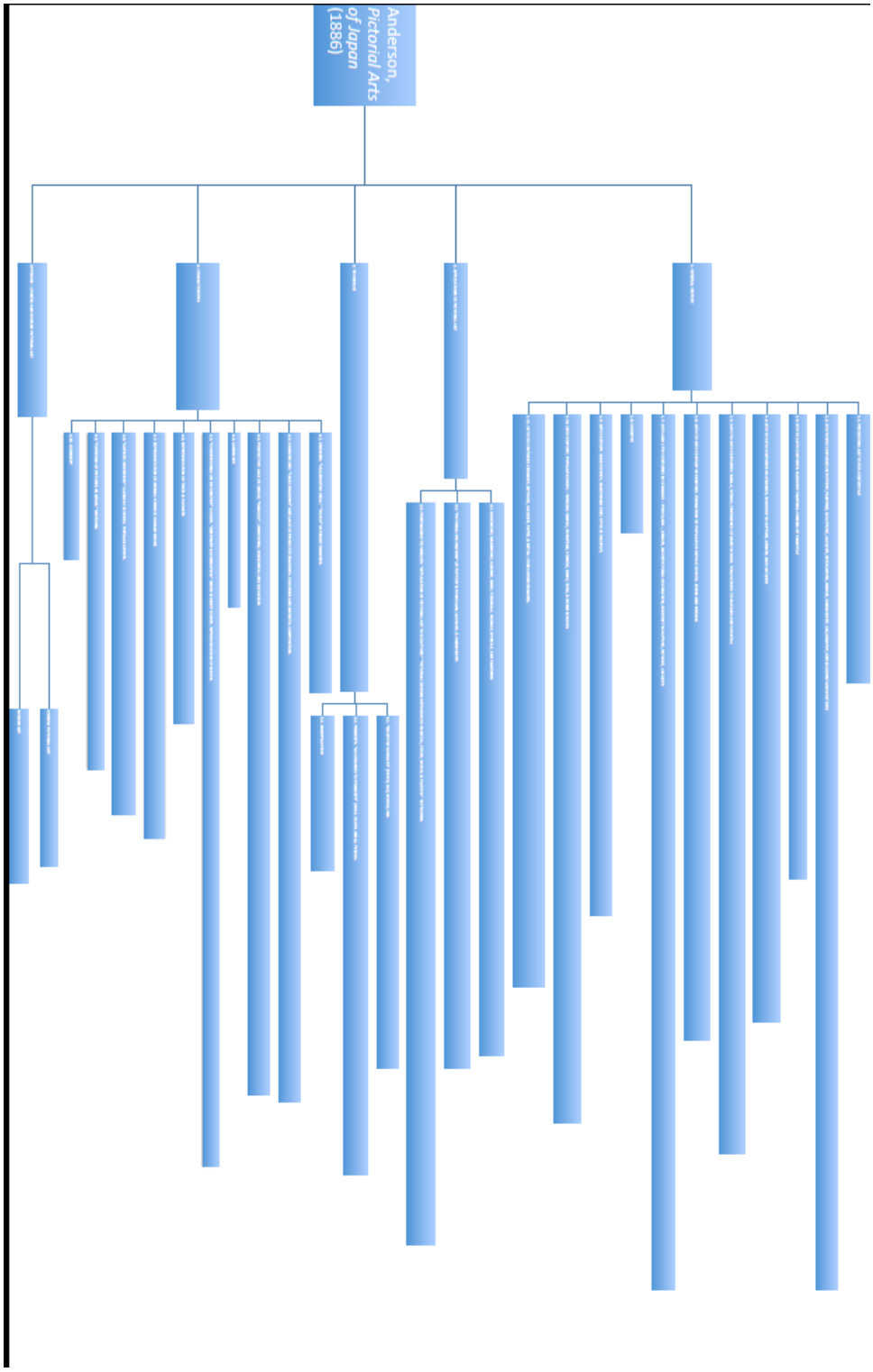

Figure 120.

Figure 121.